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ABSTRACT

These papers were originally presented at the Symposium on "Cultural Influences in Alaskan Native Education", which was held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology in Tucson, Arizona, April 13, 1973. The nine papers describe some of the recent efforts to better understand and build on the diverse cultural resources embodied in the people of Alaska. Topics cover: (1) a broad perspective of the prominant issues of education in Alaska; (2) some issues of teaching practices and behavior; (3) the informal aspects in the analysis of cross-cultural teaching; (4) bilingual education--a significant force in the push for greater cultural sensitivity in schools; (5) cross-cultural communication within the sphere of educational program development and the politics of educational control; and (6) a theoretical perspective analyzing the potential contributions of anthropology to cross-cultural understanding. (AH)

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Cultural Influences In Alaskan Native Education

Edited by
James Orvik and Ray Barnhardt
University of Alaska, Fairbanks

Presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, Tucson, Arizona, April 1973

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PREFACE

The unique physical and cultural conditions in Alaska provide a rich and stimulating backdrop for examining and applying educational processes across a wide range of human needs and circumstances. Efforts to understand the forces shaping the future of Alaska are, however, rarely able to keep up with the thrust to develop the State's human and natural resources. In the educational arena, programs that attempt to deviate from traditional practices are often times overwhelmed by the momentum of the traditional educational machinery. Recent developments do, however, show a trend toward the establishment of alternative educational programs in response to demands for greater cultural sensitivity in the schools. The following papers* describe some of the recent efforts to better understand and build upon the diverse cultural resources embodied in the people of Alaska.

While each of the papers represents a discrete individual effort, there are some themes around which they can be grouped. At the risk of imposing a structure not entirely warranted, we will note our reasoning for the order of presentation. The initial two papers (Darnell and Barnhardt), provide a broad perspective for viewing some of the prominent issues of education in Alaska. The following three papers (Kleinfeld, Cline, and Collier) deal with some of the pressing issues of teaching practices and behavior. The latter three, however, are not concerned directly with formal academic preparation but, rather, with informal aspects so often missed but by no means less important, in the analysis of cross-cultural teaching. The next two papers (Reed and Orvik) deal with bilingual education in Alaska and are included because bilingual education is rapidly becoming a significant force in the push for greater cultural sensitivity in the schools.

The eighth paper (Vaudrin) approaches the theme of cross-cultural communication within the sphere of educational program development and the politics of educational control. Finally, a theoretical perspective is offered by Rider analyzing the potential contributions of anthropology to cross-cultural understanding.

In addition to the papers described above, the original symposium included the film, "Tununeremiut" (The People of Tununak), presented by Lenny Kamerling. The film is not included here for obvious reasons, but is recommended viewing for anyone interested in contemporary Alaskan village life.

The symposium co-chairmen wish to thank the participants for their timely contributions to understanding the cross-cultural situation in Alaska. We also wish to express our appreciation to Harry Wolcott (University of Oregon) for his constructive assessment of the papers while serving as a discussant for the symposium and to the Society for Applied Anthropology for providing the forum for their presentation. The extensive efforts of Debbie Ullom and Judy Fox in preparing the present manuscript are also greatly acknowledged. Funds to underwrite the printing costs were provided through a grant from the Ford Foundation.

The reader is asked in advance to recognize that no one collection of readings can adequately describe the panorama of educational programs and perspectives that exist in Alaska today. The pace of change is too quick and the obsolescence of ideas too advanced for so vast an undertaking.

J. M. Orvik
R. J. Barnhardt

*These papers were originally presented at a Symposium on "Cultural Influences in Alaskan Native Education," held in Tucson, Arizona, April 13, 1973, in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology.

TRENDS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATION IN THE CIRCUMPOLAR NATIONS

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Concepts from many disciplines applicable to potential cross-cultural educational processes have only recently become factors for consideration by some educational administrators in the development of plans for the educational systems they oversee.

A few of those responsible for the design of education programs are becoming increasingly aware of the need to place the processes of education for indigenous people in the North in cultural perspective. It is hoped that these papers will help educationists, their allies in the behavioral and social sciences, and the Native residents to better understand what frustrates the education process in the multi-cultural setting of the North and thereby lead to creation of more positive, alternative educational processes.

The indigenous people of the North face many complex problems as they learn to cope with an invasion of culturally alien and numerically dominant groups from other areas. Formal education systems in the North in all circumpolar nations as one of the several outside elements confronting Native groups have theoretically been organized on principles of democracy and responsiveness to local community needs. But it has become increasingly obvious that existing educational programs are designed primarily to accommodate the language, cultural values, economic system, and general interest of the dominant group from the south.

The extensive variety of possible topics in the circumpolar nations and the broad geographic areas they embrace preclude the development of detailed conclusions on the subject of Northern education as a whole. There are, however, certain elements of a general nature which I have identified from a year of travel in the circumpolar countries and from an analysis of the papers given at the First International Conference on Cross-Cultural Education in the North.

It is clear that unrestricted, two-way cultural transmission has not been encouraged by the education systems in the North with the possible exception of certain situations in the Soviet Union. Acculturation, when considered in its best sense as the process of multi-directional cultural diffusion and the equitable transfer of cultural elements from one group to another for the overall betterment of each has been discouraged. Instead, the process of cultural dominance, or assimilation, can be observed. Assimilation, as a negative force, regardless of whether planned or unintentional, has often been the end result of public education in the past and remains so to a discouraging degree today in the North. This condition is no longer being tolerated by many of the Northern Native peoples. School programs contributing to assimilation arouse increasingly negative emotions on the part of many, especially those persons sensitive to the identity they have been denied through submersion of inherited culture. Many indigenous groups throughout the North are now seeking ways to reject imposed cultural, economic and administrative processes are examined. It has been found that single societies in the North are usually coterminous with single cultures, i.e., the society and the culture are common. This fact may be attributed to the condition that in the North many societies have been and in some cases are still small, isolated and relatively stable. This situation is in contrast to the heavily populated sections to the South where it may be observed that most large societies are multi-cultural. Now, however, with the northward movement of pluralistic societies and their complex economic systems, we are faced not only with the problems of change brought about by the introduction of alien cultural elements, but with a

situation wherein the basic nature of the social structure itself is undergoing change from simple to complex. Individuals in more complex social structures may require more elegant means to cope with their more involved relationships and subsequent frustrations than occurs in a simple society. Existing school systems were not designed to provide these means.

The problem of providing for balance and equality in multi-directional cultural transmission has become a critical factor in determining the success or failure of future educational programs and their consequential effects on economic and administrative situations. The tragedy of educational programs with so few of the elements necessary to assure multi-directional flow of cultural components and of learning situations that so seldom reflect respect for the less-dominant culture in the diffusion process may be observed in the frustrations of Native populations throughout the circumpolar North.

The premise of George F. Kneller that reality exists only insofar as culture had made it possible and that culture ultimately controls how we think about the world and defines how we perceive it might well become the prevailing argument for new educational development in the North.[1]

We cannot understand individual behavior of others without taking into account their language, economy and cultural setting. Therefore, in order for cross-cultural settings to bear positively on education, it is necessary to know to what extent Native cultural factors influence the acceptance or rejection of educational programs and, most importantly, goals of education. Where educational systems have been designed, either deliberately or unknowlingly, with barriers to multi-directional cultural transmission, failure can be observed. Educational goals, curricula, teaching strategies and administrative structure of schools must be analyzed in light of this concept in order to foster educational systems that meet the needs of the people they serve.

The most direct approach to educational improvement, when considered in this light, may call for simply abandoning existing practices and allowing conditions which would encourage alternative educational processes to develop on their own without outside interference. (This process generally describes how the existing school system came into being, but, of course, in a different place, at a different time, for members of a different society.) But now in the North, because of involved economic factors, disconnected administrative arrangements, well entrenched pedagogical practices imported from elsewhere and ever increasing diverse cultural relationships all bearing hard on the people, the simple solution in reality has the least likelihood of happening. As the situation continues to grow more complex those presently responsible for educational systems invent more complicated ways out of the maze. Regardless of whether new processes are going to emerge in simple or involved fashion if they are to be developed successfully at all, they will in all likelihood be conceived in the light of multi-cultural equality.

Each nation has its own peculiar problems and the extent of inadequate programs varies from place to place. A few situations observed indicated positive situations now observable in the North, particularly in the U.S.S.R. Elsewhere the developing social awareness by some members of the non-Native society who are responsible for school systems has given rise to a much higher degree of attention to educational programs based on local conditions than in the past. It remains, however, that too much attention has been in the form of overly specific categorical programs, usually funded for periods too short to determine their value, and not necessarily directed toward the basic issues. Even the description of favorable situations in the Soviet Union may be less than promised when examined in light of conflicting information, meager as it is, that has been reported from a few Soviet sources. Lamentably, one may conclude, changes in basic educational processes even though sometimes proposed, are infrequently carried out and when carried out are done so inadequately or incompletely.

[1] George F. Kneller, *Educational Anthropology: An Introduction*, Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York 1965, pp. 45-48.

It must be stressed that my study was essentially that of taking inventory and not solving problems. The inventory did, however, give rise to certain questions and suggested tentative answers which may lead to more meaningful education. How may the concerns for cross-cultural inequality that pervade the circumpolar situations be brought to bear on the existing educational system? How may the principles of democracy and community involvement really be put into practice and guaranteed as the controlling philosophy in the educational system? The general tone being set in the North, tends toward a single but complex answer for both questions.

If indeed schools have been conceived on the principles of democracy and responsiveness to local community needs but in practice programs reflect the antithesis of these principles, and if concepts of cross-cultural equality are still found wanting, the means to alter these conditions need to be developed. Realignment of control of education is generally the first means suggested and is the first necessary part of a two part answer. By examining this suggestion we note that authority is ideally exercised by an individual or an institution in possession of three elementary forms of influence: 1) legal authority to act, 2) adequate financial resources, and 3) a thorough understanding of the problem in need of solving. Unfortunately, all three elements are seldom brought to bear simultaneously on any given program in the North. If reality only exists insofar as culture has made it accessible, it follows that the majority of people currently holding legal authority and fiscal control cannot possibly perceive the problems as they really are. These officials are not of the grass roots culture (with a few notable exceptions) and no matter how well-meaning their intentions, a necessary ingredient is typically lacking. When the existing educational establishment set about to develop educational programs and designed administrative flow charts "cutting up" the lines of authority for Northern schools, they were well authorized by law, and in recent years have been usually well funded. But no matter how well defined their authority and how well financed, the third ingredient, thorough understanding of the problem, often has been found wanting. Throughout the North it is the Native population who has the exclusive cultural perception and basic factual information inherently denied, through no fault of their own, to those presently in control of the education process. It might be added that this holds true for administrators of many minority groups elsewhere in the world. However, in the North the relationship of the Native population to the total society still represents a position which distinguishes it from some minority populations elsewhere. For the most part the Native population is not alienated from the majority and is still to be found within the circle encompassing the total Northern society. This situation enhances the opportunity for improved conditions, but how long such a large segment of the society can be denied substantive influence, and still stay within the circle, is in itself one of the critical questions which needs consideration.

The universal concerns expressed by the Native people of the North may be looked upon as essential elements necessary for substantive change; ways for their perception to influence programs must be brought to bear on new programs. But like the statements of educational theorists and behavioral scientists, they may not, by themselves, resolve the issue.

And this gives rise to one last observable universal point as part two of the common answer. Although realignment of groups contributing to the influence of educational programs and of the amalgamation of the existing system with the Native populations is an urgent need, it is still necessary to keep this need in proper perspective, less the issue of control, *per se*, become an end unto itself. While educational programs in the past as imports from elsewhere have been patently inappropriate and inapplicable to Northern people, no guarantee exists that programs to follow will necessarily improve solely because of the transfer or sharing of control. Once a new structure emerges the real work of perfecting new educational processes will begin. A new base for influence can indeed be the instrument by which alternative systems of education emerge, but the new base should not be considered the alternative itself. Certain inherent problems will generate disagreement among Native groups themselves as they acquire more control. Research designed to resolve disagreements remains a pressing

need. Native groups ought to be in a position to make use of findings from the behavioral sciences to learn as well what methods will work best for them just as any large, complex enterprise retains a research division to resolve new problems. For example, how far does cultural conditioning of Northern people affect the rejection or acceptance of educational innovations? With the cultural situation changing rapidly, what subject fields will assist Northerners in adjusting to continuous accelerating change which is inevitable? How can Northern cultures be retained in light of the increasingly specialized knowledge and skills that the more technological cultures will require? And most importantly, how will new educational systems allow pupils to adapt to events that are unforeseen but bound to happen?

The predicament in the North, therefore, is one of inconsistency through failure to communicate. On the one hand, the establishment with legal and financial means to influence the educational system and a growing bank of academic and research skills now recognizes that new programs which will enhance the position of the cultural minority must be developed and implemented. Conversely, that very segment of society for whom such educational programs are desperately sought holds the key to meaningful program development but does not have the the background nor legal and fiscal means necessary to cope with all the problems. Obviously, ways ought to be found to bring the two elements together. Each has much to offer the other. Such a merger has the potential to eliminate the chaos evident within the majority on the one hand and the frustrations of the minority on the other. The ensuing degree to which positive concepts of cross-culturalism are applied to educational program development will determine the success of the amalgamation.

In summary then, the trends in the North clearly indicate that increased participation by the Northern people themselves is the essential ingredient to a more realistic Northern social environment although a great deal can still be offered by scientists and educationists. Whether the present school system or whether a new system of education has to evolve to permit this cooperative involvement may become the ultimate issue. The degree to which a group of people is ready to make changes or move into different spheres of influence whether the dominant or nondominant group, is a nebulous condition to assess. Northerners may or may not be more ready than the world as a whole to create a new educational system and social realm, but clearly in the North today, a departure from the status quo is essential and imminent.

It has been frequently said in one way or another by many spokesmen that a recurring universal notion of the ultimate end of education, regardless of geographic region, political subdivision, or cultural heritage, is simply to make certain that the good is there to contemplate. Individuals, by attainment of such an end, regardless of where they find themselves in the maze of any cross-cultural mix, may then be free to make whatever choices they must to acquire the means to meet their own objective. The educational programs certain to emerge in the North may well contain lessons for all groups struggling to establish their own identification.

EDUCATING ACROSS CULTURES: THE ALASKAN SCENE

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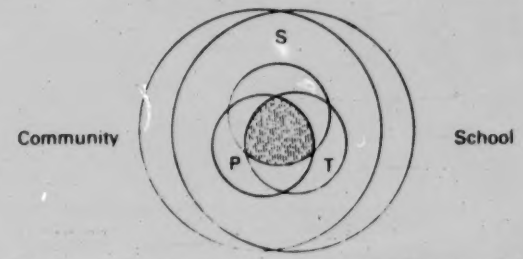
No educational issue in Alaska today is treated with as much concern and as little understanding as the role of the school as it relates to the Native people in the State. Those persons who see the school as a facilitator in the process of assimilation find it extremely slow and cumbersome in carrying out such a role. Those who desire to use the school as a means to perpetuate the traditional Native culture find it limited in application to only superficial aspects, such as Native arts and crafts, history, and some language. Those who take "the best of both worlds" approach find it difficult to design a school program which will reconcile the attitudinal and behavioral expectations inherent in the "dominant culture" with those implicit in the cultural framework of the Native community.

The typical response to the above dilemmas has been, and continues to be, a patchwork of programs designed to respond to particular needs, but usually lacking in overall coherence or continuity and sometimes incompatible with programs already operative at the same time and location. The lack of a coherent framework for dealing with educational issues in rural Alaska is partially due to the ethnocentric nature of "schooling" as an educational process. The vast majority of educational literature is derived from and focuses on a unicultural environment. As a result, the issues usually are viewed only from the schools perspective rather than as an interaction of two cultural systems, one reflected in the school, the other in the Native community. The uniqueness of the problems are disregarded in the search for underlying similarities.

In order to explore the role of the school as it relates to the Native people, it is necessary to conceptualize the components that are involved and the conditions under which they exist. The following diagram is intended to bring into a common perspective the various issues of concern to people involved in Native education. It is offered as a way to view the conditions that exist, not as an explanation of their existence.

The diagram pulls together five principal components in the education process: the teacher, student, parent, school, and community. Under ideal educational conditions, the diagram appears as follows:



The two large circles represent the socio-cultural milieu of the school and the community. The three smaller circles represent the experiential domains of the teachers, students, and parents. The complete diagram represents the interrelationship of the various components. The size of the circles, however, is *not* intended to represent the relative influence of the various components. An underlying assumption is that the greater the degree of congruence (overlap) of the components, the greater the opportunity for

meaningful and coherent educational development. The extent to which the components overlap represents the potential for experiential continuity and conceptual integration as a result of their interaction.

Ideally, under perfect enculturational conditions, the socio-cultural milieu of the school and the community are identical. The customs, beliefs, values, behavior patterns, and conceptual orientations exhibited in the school (formal education) correspond to those exhibited in the community (informal education). Consequently, the experiential domains of the teachers, students, and parents also are identical. They all are oriented to the same cultural milieu so they share a common background of perceptual and conceptual experiences. They see things, think about things, and behave in similar ways. Therefore, they are able to engage in productive interaction and communication and move toward mutually comprehensible and agreeable goals. Under these conditions, education is a consistent, constructive and cumulative process.

Application of the Diagram

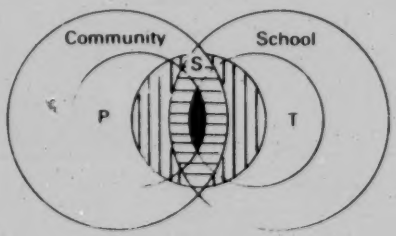
No school-community situation can be expected to fully exemplify the ideal. Most schools in typical "middle class" American communities, however, are intended to reflect to a large degree the socio-cultural milieu of the communities they serve. The curriculum and the organizational structure of the school are designed around the needs and expectations of the community. The teachers are usually products of a cultural environment similar to that of the students and parents. Diagrammatically, the various components are positioned to represent a large overlapping area (as designated by the shaded area in the above diagram), indicating a high potential for positive educational experiences. Whether or not the potential is achieved depends on the willingness and effort of the individual participants and the effective utilization of available resources. It does not depend on the compatibility of the behavior and value orientations of the participants since these are presumed to be congruent.

When the socio-cultural milieu of the community deviates from the prototype out of which the American school system evolved, the congruency between school and community diminishes. The presence of a school in a culturally different setting (as in rural Alaska) introduces an interaction system involving alternative sets of values and behavior patterns with varying potential for congruence. These conditions usually are characterized by terms such as cross-cultural, multi-cultural, inter-cultural, or trans-cultural.

Regardless of the educational goals of the school in such communities, the overall relationship of the diagrammatic components is the same. Whether the teacher is oriented to "cultural preservation" or to "assimilation," his efforts can be represented as the confluence of two modes of thought and behavior. Both orientations assume dominance of one cultural system over another. In either case, the success of the teacher's effort is affected by the compatibility of the particular modes of thought and behavior represented in a particular situation.

Schools in the Rural Native Communities of Alaska

The schools located in the rural Native communities of Alaska represent situations involving the interaction of different sociocultural milieu. The relationships of the various components with regard to these schools and communities are illustrated as follows:



Although variations in the patterns of interaction of certain components exist amongst the various schools and communities, these variations are insignificant with regard to the impact of the overall configuration on the educational experiences of the students. The shaded area, where the cultural milieu of the school and community and the experiential domains of the teachers and parents converge in relation to the educational experiences of the students, designates the limited potential for positive, integrated educational experiences. The horizontally lined area represents students involvements other than those provided by coordinated parent-teacher efforts. These include peer-group associations, interaction with parents in relation to the school, and interaction with teachers in relation to the community. Although these various involvements are assumed to be consistent since they are within the cultural framework of both the school and community, the burden of compatibility rests on the students. Such involvements may or may not lead to a coherent whole, depending on each students' ability to integrate the various experiences.

The two vertically lined areas represent those aspects of the Native students' experiential domains that are not directly compatible and that can not be integrated into a consistent whole. These consist of socio-cultural forces that have their origin in separate cultural milieu, and that often are in mutual opposition. The areas represent the attitudes and expectations of the parents and the teachers, regarding the students, which are derived from different life styles and different world views. These divergent aspects of the students' experiential domain contribute to an ambivalent conceptual orientation and discontinuity and disharmony in the students' educational development.

The majority of the issues in rural Alaskan education can be classified into the vertically lined area. The root of most problems can be attributed to the differences in conceptual understanding of the issues, based on the different cultural perspectives of the school and community.

Urban Schools and Boarding Schools for Alaskan Natives

A third configuration of the diagram is needed to represent the experiences of Native students attending urban based schools or boarding schools outside their home community.

The school and the community are separate entities representing different cultural milieu. Virtually the only connection between what occurs in the school and what occurs in the community is provided by the students periodic movement from the one to the other. The parents seldom interact with the school; the teachers seldom interact with the community. The students are provided with two distinct sets of experiences originating from mutually exclusive cultural systems. The task of synthesizing the two sets of experiences into an integrated and meaningful whole is left to the students.

To achieve satisfactory integration, the students must learn to accommodate two different conceptual frameworks. If they are unable to achieve the critical synthesis they must either abide by one framework at the expense of the other, or face the consequences of conceptual disharmony. If the students are given a choice, the most reasonable alternative for them is to hold to the cultural patterns from which they emerged. Consequently, the educational efforts of the school are tolerated but never accepted or conceptually internalized.

Instead, a third cultural system is formed as the teachers and students develop a consistent pattern of non-interaction based on mutual expectations derived from past experience. The Native students are expected by the teachers to have certain deficiencies and display certain behavior patterns usually incompatible with the goals of the school. The teachers, therefore, establish certain response patterns to accommodate the situation. The students follow the same patterns with regard to the teachers; eventually, a mutually agreed-on system is developed whereby each of the participants "do their own thing." However, when the results of the educational program are evaluated and the students are below national standards, the accusation of failure is directed to the students — not the school.

Toward Mutual Understanding

The discrepancy between the two latter diagrams and the ideal configuration of school-community and teacher-student-parent interaction patterns is apparent in the lack of significant overlap, indicating the differences in cultural milieu and experiential domains under these conditions. Three means of reducing the discrepancy are possible: the parents and students can shift their values, beliefs, customs, behavior patterns, and conceptual orientations to accommodate those represented by the school; the teachers can shift their efforts and goals to accommodate to the background of the students; or, a combination involving mutual accommodation can be worked out.

Since the goal is to achieve compatibility of educational experiences, any of the above means can accomplish that task. However, the three means are not equally realistic. Although the Native people can no longer maintain an independent existence oriented to "the old ways," they also cannot be expected to abandon their heritage and assume a life style often inconsistent with that heritage. Even if they wanted to, they could not automatically switch to a different conceptual orientation without residual affects of the previous orientation.

Non-Native teachers, likewise, cannot be expected to comprehend the complexity of the relationship between the school and a Native community on the basis of their background and standardized training. They cannot switch conceptual orientations any more than can the Native parent or student. In addition to their own ethnocentrism, they are caught in a system that allows them to operate only in prescribed ways. The physical isolation of the schools and teacher housing illustrates this point. Rarely do the teachers move beyond the classroom in an effort to improve the quality of education.

The most reasonable approach for bringing the school and community closer together is to increase mutual understanding between the various participants in the educational process. This may be accomplished by enhancing the interaction and flow of communications through reciprocal involvement of the participants in the alternate experiential domains and cultural milieu. Community members can become involved in the school and teachers can become involved in the community.

Native Teachers in the School

The presence of local community members in the school, particularly as teachers, represents the most logical means of encouraging greater school-community understanding. However, such an approach is not as simple as it first appears. If the community members are thrust into the rigid structure of a traditional classroom and are not allowed to establish alternate patterns of interaction and communication, their experience as Natives is of little value and may even be detrimental to their efforts as "teachers." If their training has so inoculated them with the stereotypical attitudes and expectations of a "teacher" that they are unable to establish a free-flow of communications with their students in their own mode, they have little more to contribute than the teacher from "outside." Native teachers must be allowed to approach the students and "classroom" on their own terms if they are to use their expertise as Natives effectively. As representatives of the community, they can blend the formal aspects of schooling

with the informal aspects of child-rearing in the community. But to do so requires a freedom of movement beyond that usually associated with strict formal education. The community becomes the classroom, and the classroom reflects the community.

In the training and on the job, Native teachers must be accorded the flexibility to make extensive deviations from standard curriculum and structural patterns. School policy and objectives must be expanded to allow for new and different means and ends with regard to educational attainment. Thus the concepts of teaching and schooling themselves must be called into question if such a transformation of attitudes and expectations is to occur.

Non-Native Teachers in the Community

The second means of enhancing school-community understanding is to increase the involvement of non-Native teachers in the community. To achieve a genuine understanding and acceptance between the teacher and the Native community, however, requires more than their exposure to each other; it requires more than factual or inferential knowledge; it requires a sensitivity to a wide range of subtle and complex factors that affect the various participants' perception of each other.

"Mutual understanding" implies a consensual recognition and acceptance of the worth and dignity of the individuals or groups involved. The Native parents and students must be accepted for what they are, not for what they once were or for what they "should" be. An appreciation of Native people because they are descendants of the "noble savage" or represent a "vanishing breed" offers little consolation to contemporary Natives. Likewise, to express an interest in helping Natives because of "their impoverished and decadent condition," on the assumption that they need to be raised to a certain white man's standard, only contributes to the problem rather than alleviates it. To attempt to make a Native into an artifact of a romantic age, or a prototype of contemporary middle-class white standards, is to disregard the unique qualities of his present existence. Teachers must be willing to learn as well as teach, *in situ*, if they are to respond to contemporary circumstantial needs and be able to accurately assess the impact of what they teach.

Such an approach to school-community understanding requires a conceptual transformation similar to that required if a Native is to be allowed to teach as a Native. The teacher must break out of the mind-set that establishes him as the sole proprietor in the educational training of Native children. He must recognize his status as an outsider and be sensitive to the differences that exist between himself and the students, rather than placing all the emphasis on the superficial similarities. Even if he takes the extreme position and openly pursues a course of indoctrination to white ways, he reflects a clearer perception of his position than if he blindly pursues a traditional teaching style. Once the teacher recognizes his position relative to the students, parents, and community, he can pursue a course of action which will enable him to offer a cumulative rather than subtractive educational experience. Such an approach infers a greater understanding and involvement of the community with regard to the school. The one is a natural consequence of the other.

The Community as the Classroom

Whether a Native is teaching in the school or a white teacher is involved in the community, the central issue is to improve the communications and increase the compatibility between what is taught in the school and what is learned in the community. Although the conditions described above are intended to illustrate how teacher (in)sensitivity to socio-cultural differences can affect their teaching, such vicarious accounts cannot adequately prepare a person for actual immersion with the issues on a face-to-face, day-to-day level.

If teachers are to establish more than a superficial relationship with the community, they must move beyond the traditional classroom. They must strive to view themselves as they are viewed from the

perspective of the community; to listen to what they say as it may be heard by the community; to establish goals in harmony with the real-life circumstances in the community. Instead of trying to raise the students to a prescribed percentile level, the teacher should strive to help the students learn something today they did not know yesterday. The students will then be assessed on the basis of where they are, not where they should be.

The teacher—white or Native—who has the incentive and freedom to explore the educational environs with his students will not restrict his endeavors to the formal classroom. He will make the community an integral part of the classroom, building the educational framework around local needs and resources. Students will learn in the presence of and in cooperation with the adult members of the community.

By extending the classroom into the community, the schooling experience becomes meaningful and additive in terms of both the teachers' and the students' needs. The teacher becomes better acquainted with the community and thus can better assess the implications of his efforts. The students are treated to a schooling experience that coincides with their extra-school experiences. Formal and informal education are blended into a coherent, integrated whole.

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EFFECTIVE TEACHERS OF INDIAN AND ESKIMO HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

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Part I
INTRODUCTION

The ethnocentric teacher, who strives to destroy his students' cultural identity in order to propel them into the American mainstream and then quotes chapter and verse of cultural deprivation texts to rationalize his own teaching failure, is a prominent villain in Indian education.

While the characteristics of such ineffective teachers are well known, very little information is available on the characteristics of successful teachers of Indian and Eskimo students. The purpose of this study was to develop a theoretical model defining the psychological characteristics of effective as well as ineffective teachers of rural Athabascan Indian and Eskimo students. In view of the policy shift from educating Indian students in isolated federal schools to integrating them into the public schools, it was also important to explore a second question: Is the type of teacher who is successful with rural Indian and Eskimo students also successful with urban White and Black students or are different teaching styles more productive with different types of students?

Review of the Literature

Studies concerning teachers of Indian students have tended to focus on the broad cultural conflicts that lead to a learning deadlock in the classroom. The White teacher is viewed as ineffective because he personifies the antogonistic values and reformist attitudes of the predominant culture which are resisted by Indian students. In Wax, Wax, and Dumont's classic study of formal education among the Sioux, for example, the classroom is analyzed as an arena where the value conflicts separating the Indian community from White society come to a focus.[1] Teachers tended to disparage their students' culture and potentialities and viewed their instructional mission as reforming students by teaching the manners and morals of White society as absolute goods. Sioux adolescents expressed passive resistance and cultural group solidarity by creating the "silent classroom." The Indian peer group united in refusal to participate overtly in classroom work.

Such silent classrooms, however, did not occur with a few successful teachers. However, the description of their teaching style is unfortunately brief:

> . . . there are a few teachers who develop fine classrooms and teach their pupils a great deal. These teachers are difficult to describe because they are remarkably different in background and personality and some are "real characters" in the sense that this word was used fifty years ago. In general, they differ from the less successful instructors in that they respect their pupils. By this, we mean that they treat them as if something of respect was already there. . . . These teachers are strict disciplinarians and do not tolerate nonsense...all are very fair and all are extremely skillful in avoiding a situation which would embarrass a shy student before the class. They tend to place a heavy emphasis on scholastic work and often behave as if such matters as pupils' neatness in dress and eating habits, or how pupils spend their money, do not fall within their province.[2]

This description provides a few tantalizing clues to the characteristics of effective teachers. However, since the study is directed toward other issues, it does not detail the way general attitudes are expressed in specific teaching behaviors. Such specificity is essential because Indians and Eskimos may hold very different views from Whites about the particular behavior that expresses such feelings as respect.[3]

Progress toward defining characteristics of effective and ineffective teachers is made in Dumont's classification of three types of teachers of Cherokee students.[4] Teachers in the first group are "nice" to students, but have given up attempting to teach them. They resort to busy work or let the class carry on without them. Teachers in the second group place high value on learning, but have no understanding of cultural differences and the appropriate ways of interacting with students. In their classes, students are apathetic and, the teachers react to student apathy with hostility. The third group of teachers work within the framework of cultural differences. With the help of students who act as mediators between the teacher and the Indian peer society, they create an "intercultural classroom." The hallmark of such a classroom is verbal dialogue between the teacher and the student, in contrast to the normative silent resistance. In the intercultural classroom, students "will do such remarkable things as engage in lengthy conversations with the teacher about academic subjects."[5]

Exactly how these effective teachers work within the framework of cultural differences is not described. However, Dumont's reports of specific teacher-student interactions in the "intercultural classroom" in the light of other studies raises the possibility that the teacher's interpersonal orientation may be a critical characteristic. Among traditional Indians and Eskimos, the value of social harmony takes precedence over task achievement,[6] and a task "cannot be separated from the relationship of the individuals performing it."[7] Modern industrial societies, in contrast, attempt to separate the interpersonal aspects of an enterprise from the task dimension so that personal feelings do not interfere with the more important value of task achievement. Thus, for Indian and Eskimo students, the teacher's ability to establish appropriate interpersonal relationships may be a necessary condition for teaching effectiveness. For White middle class students, who are accustomed to differentiating the interpersonal and task dimensions of a situation, such social sensitivity may not be as critical a factor.

Such a view is supported by Wax's intriguing finding that Cherokee parents and students defined the good teacher as one who has "love" for students.[8] Apparently ill at ease by the intensity of the emotion suggested, the researchers attribute the Cherokee's "peculiar usage of the English word 'love' to their limited knowledge of English. They redefine the term to indicate a more distant teacher-student relationship of "respect, trust, gentleness, and courteous sensitivity."[9] However, the results of the present study raise the possibility that the Cherokee may have meant precisely what they said. The intense personalism that seems critical to effective teaching of village Indian and Eskimo students often appears inappropriate to westerners with professional orientations.

In a study of Eskimo education, Collier similarly points to the importance of emotional closeness between the teacher and Eskimo students.[10]

Using the techniques of film analysis, he describes the way teachers' nonverbal behaviors communicate feelings of warmth versus distance. In a silent pre-first grade class taught by a White male, the teacher created a classroom climate of emotional distance by standing at a wide physical distance from the students and spacing them far apart in rows. In an animated Head Start class taught by Eskimo women, the teachers, in contrast, communicated emotional closeness through physical closeness and through touch.

Collier's film analysis of different teaching styles raises the possibility that it is the teacher's interpersonal style, not his ethnic group membership, that is critical to success. An Eskimo teacher who had completed professional university training evidenced little rapport with students. However, those White teachers who were able to use a nonverbal communication style of emotional closeness similar to that of Eskimo teachers seemed to have similar results.

> Mr. Scout moves from individual to individual, from group to group. He leans over, sits down, touches, corrects and moves on. Students run to him with papers . . . The teacher appears very relaxed, and talks slowly to students. There are no signs of boredom, no yawning. Everyone is busy... [11]

In sum, the literature on Indian education contains abundant examples of destructive teacher attitudes and practices. However, descriptions of successful teachers of Indian and Eskimo students are infrequent and not detailed. Several studies suggest the critical importance of emotional closeness between the teacher and Indian and Eskimo students. Other work draws attention to other characteristics such as vivid personality, respect for students, and strict discipline. However, how such characteristics as emotional closeness relate to somewhat conflicting characteristics such as strict discipline is not discussed. Nor does the available literature raise the question of whether the same or different teaching styles are effective with rural Indian and Eskimo versus urban White and Black students.

Method

A review of the extensive literature on teaching effectiveness in the light of exploratory study concerning the problems of cross-cultural teaching indicated the need for ethnographic analysis as a first stage in the development of hypotheses about the characteristics of effective teachers in the cross-cultural classroom. The category systems used in conventional analyses of teaching behavior were developed for teachers and students who share a western cultural background. For two reasons, such categories appeared to be inappropriate in analyzing cross-cultural teaching relationships involving Athabascan Indian and Eskimo students. First, the categories of teacher behavior masked what might be critical distinctions in effective cross-cultural instruction. For example, the standard interaction analysis dimension "Teacher praises student" generally relates only to verbal praise and at best combines verbal and nonverbal expressions of approval into a single category. Yet, exploratory research suggested that public verbal praise frequently embarrassed Indian and Eskimo students into silent withdrawal and thus comprised an ineffective teacher behavior. However, nonverbal praise such as an intimate smile and sparkle of the eyes appeared to reinforce desirable classroom behavior and thus comprise an effective teacher behavior. Second, the teacher behavior categories developed for a western classroom situation omitted entirely dimensions of teacher behavior and subtle distinctions of feeling that appeared to be critical categories in effective instruction of Indian and Eskimo students. For example, the teacher who attempted to motivate these students by appealing to their own interests and goals ("Do it for learning's sake/so you can get a good job/for a good grade") met with little success. Teachers who attempted to motivate village students by appealing, in contrast, to the mutual obligations inherent in a personal teacher-student relationship ("Do it for me/to make me happy/so that I will feel I am a good teacher") tended to be quite successful. Yet teachers tended to be extremely ambivalent about appealing to a personal relationship to motivate students and felt that it was somehow higher for the student to learn for his own sake rather than for the sake of someone else. The need to analyze the conflicts teachers felt in such situations again emphasized the importance of approaching the problem of cross-cultural teaching effectiveness first through wholistic, ethnographic methods appropriate for considering such issues before attempting to devise a measurement system appropriate for hypothesis testing.

For these reasons, the primary method used to analyze teaching characteristics was observation of approximately 40 teachers of academic subjects in two all-Native boarding schools and five integrated urban high schools in Alaska during the 1970-71 school year. Semi-structured interviews were held with each teacher concerning his teaching problems with village Indian and Eskimo students and the instructional methods he found successful and unsuccessful. Since Indian and Eskimo students communicate more freely through indirect, written methods rather than interviews, students' essays and letters were used to obtain information about reactions to different teachers.

Attention focused primarily on teachers of ninth grade Indian and Eskimo students who are first experiencing the transition from small village elementary school to a large secondary school. Since instructional problems at this stage are most acute, differences in the effects of different teachers are likely to be more visible. As hypotheses were developed, teachers who represented contrasting teaching styles were videotaped to permit more intensive analysis of their classroom behavior. In addition, supplementary experiments were designed to permit formal hypothesis testing.

In evaluating alternative teaching styles, it was necessary to use a measure of teaching effectiveness that would have some generality across different academic subjects and across different teaching philosophies. Since the purpose of this study was exploratory, to develop testable hypotheses, formal measures were not sought at this stage of the research. However, it was important to have clearly in mind some unambiguous criterion of teaching effectiveness so that evaluation of different teacher characteristics would be biased as little as possible by the observer's preference for particular teaching styles.

Studies of teaching effectiveness have generally used three kinds of criterion measures.[12] One is the opinion of experts, such as teacher supervisors. A second is pupil growth measured by such indicators of change as achievement tests. A third is an intermediate criterion thought to be related to pupil growth, such as classroom attentiveness or amount of academic work performed. Expert opinion is generally acknowledged to be an unsatisfactory measure, since such opinions tend to be unreliable and depend substantially on the particular educational theories the expert happens to hold. While pupil growth as measured by achievement test gains seems superficially to be the most valid criterion of teacher effectiveness, it is quite difficult to use. At the secondary level, each subject is taught by a different teacher and it is difficult to compare student gains across subjects.

For these reasons, this study used as an informal indicator of teacher effectiveness two intermediate criteria of pupil growth that seemed especially appropriate for Indian and Eskimo students. First, how much did the Indian and Eskimo students verbally participate in the classroom? Second, what was the cognitive level (e.g., repetition of scattered facts versus application of principles) of their verbal communications as evaluated by Bloom's taxonomy?[13]

Verbal participation itself was chosen as one criterion of teacher effectiveness for Indian and Eskimo students because both the Indian education literature and teacher interviews suggested that Indians and Eskimos tend to respond to a stressful situation, such as a poor teacher, by withdrawing into silence. Indeed, classroom silence may be used as a stretegy of passive aggression against the teacher. Verbal participation has been used, although not explicitly, as a criterion of effective teaching in other studies of Indian classrooms.[14] Moreover, teachers often used verbal participation as a criterion of their own teaching success.

The second criterion, the cognitive level of student participation, was used to distinguish classrooms where Indian and Eskimo students felt comfortable enough to speak but were learning little, from classrooms where verbal participation indicated learning. Moreover, this measure of the intellectual level of student's participation was especially useful in evaluating the teacher's effectiveness with the urban White and Black students, who were not usually verbally reticent.

Part II
PROBLEMS IN CROSS-CULTURAL SECONDARY INSTRUCTION

Problems of Indian and Eskimo Village Students in High School

Athabascan Indian and Eskimo students in Alaska who come from small, remote villages without high schools must attend secondary school away from home. Students accustomed to a one or two room multi-grade elementary school, where the other students are relatives or people known all their lives,

enter urban public schools of over one thousand students or Native boarding schools of several hundred students. The student body of the high school is often larger than the total population of their home village.

The physical environment of the high school—its massive size, labyrinth of corridors, strange machines, and waves of noise — frequently unnerves students. Unable to work the combination of their lockers and too embarrassed to ask for help on a trivial task which any White student can do, Indian and Eskimo students often wear parkas to all their classes. To find an Indian or Eskimo young man crying in the halls or vomiting in the restroom because he cannot find his next class is not an exceptional occurrence. Since Indians and Eskimos are socialized into a stringent ethic of making feelings of discomfort,[15] such breakdowns testify to the extreme stress village students undergo.

Village students, however, adapt fairly rapidly to the stress of the physical environment, although they may remain somewhat uncomfortable. It is rather the social environment of the high school that creates the subtle and enduring problems. In brief, village students tend to perceive the social environment of the school as hostile. This perception is in part realistic and due to the actual prejudice of many students and a few teachers. However, this perception is also based on misinterpretations of the meaning of western social behavior. In brief, village students tend to interpret the impersonal social relationships characteristic of modern industrial society in terms of the personalized social norms of a small village.

Village students are accustomed to the diffuse, affectively intense, particularistic relationships characteristic of small, traditional societies where everyone knows everyone else as full personalities occupying many different roles.[16] As one student put it, "At home everyone knows everyone by heart." The social structure of the secondary school, in contrast is organized in terms of the social norms of modern, industrial societies. As Dreeben[17] points out, "What is learned in school" is in part to accept as legitimate being treated according to the norms of public life, in contrast to the norms of the kinship group. By being placed in a classroom with strangers sharing primarily the common attribute of age and by having similar behavior expected regardless of one's personal characteristics, the student learns to accept being treated according to universal norms as a member of a category. As relationships with teachers change from the diffuse affection and prolonged contact characteristic of the early elementary grades to the impersonalism and specialization of the secondary school, the student acquires the difficult emotional attitudes congruent with a detached, narrow scope of one person's concern with another.

In contrast to urban students, village Indian and Eskimo students are not familiar through prior socialization with impersonal social settings where anonymous, fragmented task relationships are the norm. Observation of their parents' behavior in the village obviously does not teach these role orientations. Nor has their elementary school socialization gradually prepared them for such impersonalism to the extent it does the urban student. In many small villages, a husband and wife teaching team instructs all classes in a multi-grade classroom. The other students are not strangers. While the teachers rarely become part of the village, they do become known as fuller personalities due to their other roles such as nurse or radio operator and to their social dependency on villagers for some social life. In sum, elementary school relationships in the village school, while of course more impersonal than in the village society, are nonetheless considerably more diffuse and particularistic than the typical urban school.

Thus, village students tend to expect similar personalized relationships in the secondary school setting, and anonymous situations which urban students accept as a matter of course make village students acutely ill at ease. One village student, for example, recommended to a friend that he attend school elsewhere because "You won't feel comfortable here. Why I've been here (a high school of close to 2000 students) three years already and I haven't even met the principal yet." Other students say they feel uncomfortable when they don't know the name of the driver of the school bus or the names of every other student in each of their classes. Some become upset when teachers do not know their names and

call on them by pointing or saying "the girl in the back of the room." While urban students might similarly prefer the teacher to know their names, they tend to accept the anonymous situation without such intense distress.

Interpreting social interactions in the large secondary school from the meaning system of a personalized folk society, village students frequently misperceive rejection. For example, Indian and Eskimo village students tend to view themselves as the strangers in the new school which they are assuming is a community where everyone knows everyone else. If the urban students indeed had friendly feelings toward them, the village students reason, they would make positive friendly overtures just as the village students would if a new person visited their hometown. Urban students, however, accustomed to the anonymity of a large school where there are many students they do not know, generally take no notice of village students and make little effort to be friendly. Village students interpret this behavior as active rejection and prejudice, as indeed it would be if they treated a visitor to the village in this fashion. When village students become accustomed to the impersonal norms of the school, generally in their second year, they frequently remark that they had initially misunderstood their classmates' attitudes and perceived them as prejudiced and unfriendly when most of them were not.

Village students tend to desire highly personalized, affectively intense relationships not only with their classmates but also with their teachers. The yearning of students to become personal friends with their teachers and to resolve academic problems in a social, not a task-oriented situation, is strikingly apparent in the following students' analysis of his difficulties in the classroom and the way they could be solved:

> The thing we lack most is friends. We gotta find a way to get more friends. That how I think about everything. Why don't the teachers here, you guys, and we Native students have a party somewhere and become friends (which we lack most) and also settle everything comfortably.

Unaccustomed to the neutral affective tone of professional relationships, village students consider it legitimate to expect a teacher to "care about" them as total persons, not as learners of a particular subject matter. These students often remarked that the teachers did not care about them or were not "human." The teacher behavior on which they based these judgments was that the teacher made no effort to get to know them personally, for example, by talking to them after class. As one student put it in complimenting an unusually good teacher:

> Well, when I first came here I noticed no one talks to you. Last year when I didn't know nobody and you talked to me after class I was surprised that someone was human.

The feeling that the school environment is hostile also derives in part from the family socialization of Indian and Eskimo students, which often creates highly generalized fears of Whites. Given the need for strong controls on aggression within a small group, hostile feelings tend to be projected onto dangerous external agents. Traditionally, these external beings were spirits and monsters; more recently, they have become White people. Village parents, for example, may induce obedience by warning children that a White stranger will get them if they do not behave. Such socialization often leads to a pervasive fear of Whites that creates paralyzing anxiety. As one boy put it:

> Last year when I was in the 8th grade, I was making fairly good grades, and this year when I was admitted to high school I started to make low grades like D's, because I cannot work with White people, watching, sitting, and talking all around me, and it is very hard for me to study around those people I don't know.

The actual prejudice and hostility of a number of students and a few teachers in the school created substantial realistic fears in village students. White students mocked the "funny noises" made by Indian

and Eskimo students, especially when they spoke in their own language. Some derided villagers by pejoratives, such as "salmon crunchers." Some imitated the village student's walk when he was called out of class for special counseling or medical treatment. Such hostility increased village students' estrangement in the school:

> An Eskimo young man, carrying a briefcase symbolizing his split identity by pictures of western school culture drawn on one side and pictures of Eskimo culture drawn on the other, walked up to his best friend in Speech Class and said, "You stink." The other young man retorted, "Who said?" "I heard it about me," he admitted, moodily taking his seat. Ignoring the lesson, he proceeded to read a magazine and to label all the pictures with Eskimo words.

School procedures and school personnel often aggravate the hostility of urban students. For example, village students are often placed in classes with urban students of similar achievement levels. These low socioeconomic status, frustrated urban students are especially likely to hold prejudiced attitudes and to displace their aggression on the convenient target of the village student, who rarely fights back. In addition, well-meaning school personnel often give Indian and Eskimo students special treatment such as individualized assignments or easier grades. Urban students often feel that the village students "get away with everything. If I got busted, I would go to jail. They would get away with it."

Village students sometime maintain an almost catatonic silence in class in fear that White students will humiliate them for errors. Yet, the village student is caught in a double bind. If he does speak, Whites will laugh at his mistakes. If he does not speak, Whites will call him a "dumb Native." As one girl wrote in a letter asking for all-Native classes:

> The reason I am writing this letter is because I hope you can help. I don't feel very open when I am working with White students. Even though I really like to speak up and answer some questions you or some other teachers ask I am always afraid to because I always be afraid that if I give the wrong answer or talk funny they will make fun of me. I think it would be of a great help to most of the Natives if we could be separated from the White students so we can be more opened to speak up and not be made fun of. I know we just can't go on in school like this. We really have to move. Sometimes I think that most of the White students think that I am dumb just because I don't answer questions.

While teachers are rarely guilty of the overt prejudice characteristics of some students, they may inadvertently behave in ways that village students perceive as rejection. For example, village students find it very difficult to follow the fast-paced, conversational English of the classroom and may not know the meaning of such idioms as "hit the books." Almost invariably, the students complain that the teacher "talks too fast and uses too many big words." However, since students do not differentiate sharply between the task and social aspects of a situation, they tend to interpret these academic difficulties in interpersonal terms. The teacher's use of big words, for example, may be viewed as a sign of the teacher's superior attitudes and hostile feelings. Since the teacher must realize that they cannot understand the words and yet goes on using them, village students reason, obviously the teacher does not care about them or does not like them. As one student wrote about very well-intentioned teacher interns:

> Why I Hate College Teachers
>
> Because they don't teach as good as older teachers. They try to be tough on you, and try to make you think they are smart by using big words even they know we don't understand them they go on. I've noticed the one in the Study Hall wears glasses, she unconsciously plays with them and she puts them on they slide down to the end of her nose. And the one in art class wears round ones. Maybe they want to look smart.[18]

The response of Athabascan Indian and Eskimo high school students to the physical and social stresses of the secondary school is the classic pattern of mute withdrawal reported among other Indian groups.19 Enclosing themselves in a protective shield of silence, students may sit in the classroom but refuse to meet the teacher's eyes, answer a question, or ask for needed help. In the urban, integrated school where the stress is greatest, village students tend to huddle together at the far back corner of the room, a position symbolizing their psychological withdrawal from classroom life. Since many students have severe hearing loss from otitis media and vision problems that are only gradually noticed and corrected, their retirement to the back of the room virtually guarantees that they cannot understand the lesson. In especially stressful classes such as speech, where the village student is expected to give a formal talk before the critical eyes of the White students, village students may withdraw physically by hiding in the restrooms or by refusing to go to school at all.

While many students drop out, those who remain gradually become less reticent. The transition from silent withdrawal to at least some verbal participation occurs more quickly in all-Native boarding schools, since the student does not have to overcome his fear of White strangers. The transition also occurs more easily in those integrated schools that establish an all-Native orientation class — generally covering English and social studies — for entering village students. In integrated as well as all-Native schools, however, the student's degree of withdrawal appears to depend to a surprising degree on the behavior of individual teachers. Some teachers succeed in evoking high levels of intellectual participation from Indian and Eskimo students, whereas others teach in silent classrooms.

Problems of High School Teachers of Indian and Eskimo Village Students

High school teachers, especially those in urban, integrated schools where the student is most likely to withdraw into silence tend to view their fundamental problem with village students as "communication." Since village students often refuse to speak in class, teachers find it very difficult to use their customary question and answer methods to find out if students understand the lesson. Village students' refusal to speak in class is also extremely upsetting and embarrassing to many teachers. The teacher asks a question and the Native student may lower his eyes and head, hunching his body into a shell. While the teacher waits, debating how long to pause for an answer, the restless urban students go out of control or shout out the answer. Angry and humiliated in a contest that the village student almost always wins, the teacher finally moves on with no clue as to whether the village student has understood the concept presented.

Not only do teachers find it difficult to use village student's verbal responses as indicators of their understanding, but also they have great difficulty using their nonverbal communications. Teachers are accustomed to reading nonverbal signals, such as facial expression or bodily posture, to see if students understand the point, feel bored, or are interested in the lesson. Teachers and urban students have developed ritualized nonverbal signals, such as the puzzled frown, which communicate these feelings without the need for direct question and answer. However, village students' faces tend to be expressionless in the classroom. Many teachers believe that such facial expression is a model characteristic of Indian and Eskimo students rather than a response to the stress of the classroom. The expressionless face indicates fear of loss of face if the student admits he does not understand. Only after rapport between teacher and student develops does the village student venture the puzzled frown that indicates lack of understanding. Moreover, in order to save face, village students sometimes send nonverbal messages indicating they understand a lesson when they actually do not.

> A university student guest is giving a special lesson on electricity to a class of urban students and village Indian and Eskimo students. His talk is incomprehensible to the observer. The White students are sprawled back in their seats with bored expressions. The Native students are leaning over their desks with expressionless faces and appear to be taking notes assiduously.

When village students do use nonverbal signals to communicate with the teacher, the teacher frequently misses them because their nonverbal signals tend to be much more subdued than those of the urban students. For example, the teacher may ask a question to which the answer is "Holy War," and the urban students shout out the answer while the village students may whisper it. An attentive teacher could see the rounded mouth indicate the broad "o" in "Holy." However, teachers accustomed to the shouting and angular, sweeping gestures of urban students frequently do not notice the slight, circular gestures or expectant look that village students may use to communicate their readiness to answer.

A second pervasive problem felt by teachers of Indian and Eskimo students is a tension between being kind and sympathetic to the student by bending their academic requirements or treating the student like everyone else by holding him to the academic requirements of the class. Especially in urban, integrated classroom, teachers constantly ask themselves: "Should I be understanding or demanding?" If a student refuses to answer a question, even when the teacher believes he knows the answer, should the teacher press him? Should the teacher adjust his requirements, tests, and grading system for the village student?

Most teachers veer toward the undemanding end of the continuum, which they view as an expression of kindness and flexibility. Teachers tend to be sympathetic to village students in view of their limited academic backgrounds. Moreover, such sympathy is easy to maintain, since the village students rarely present discipline problems. Also, some teachers are reluctant to demand because of school folklore about the disastrous results of pushing village students too far. In one school, for example, the counselor recounted the tale of a teacher who asked a village student to read in front of the class. The student could not read and wildly threw the book, accidentally cutting the teacher's face. Yet, as other teachers point out:

> When one tries to treat them to gingerly, some take advantage, and, for example, drink a can of pop between each class (and come late). What do you do about down-to-earth problems like this?

This dilemma about how much to demand of the village student is compounded by what teachers view as the central moral question in cross-cultural education. If education is culture change, is any instruction legitimate? The ethnocentric teacher who is unselfconsciously trying to indoctrinate students into the American Way of Life can still be found. However, such teachers are being replaced more and more by sophisticated teachers who have absorbed notions of cultural relativism and cultural preservation. These teachers continually ask themselves whether their teaching is destroying the student's cultural identity. If they require the student to come to class on time, are they undermining his present time orientation? What are they preparing students for—city life or village life? If the student does intend to return to the village, do he and the teacher really need to suffer through chemistry or geometry or French or whatever other subject is being taught? As one teacher put it:

> Some real thinking is needed as to goals desired in educating these other-cultural students. Just what are we trying to accomplish? Is it to orient these kids to the predominant culture? If that isn't it, what is?

These moral uncertainties often sap teachers' energies. Faced with the difficulties and embarrassment of academically unprepared village students who refuse to participate in class and honestly uncertain on the value and legitimacy of their academic requirements for these students, many teachers choose the course of doing nothing at all. Especially in integrated classrooms, teachers find it easy to ignore the presence of a few Native students huddled in the far corner, particularly when they are not behavior problems. As one teacher summed up:

> They are so shy and so unsure of themselves and I am so busy. All of my classes are too big—and the poor kid just gets lost in the noise and shuffle. If only I had time to sit down with these kids where it was quiet and talk to them. They do need individual help and attention, but I never have extra time—nor do I really know how to teach them.

Part III
EFFECTIVE AND INEFFECTIVE TEACHERS

Two central characteristics seemed to distinguish effective teachers in whose classes Indian and Eskimo students intellectually participated from ineffective teachers in whose classes these students silently huddled in the far corner. The first and most important characteristic was whether the teacher was able to create a climate of emotional warmth that both dissipated students' fears in the classroom and fulfilled their expectations of highly personalized relationships. The second was whether the teacher was able to resolve his own ambivalence about the legitimacy of his educational goals and express his concern for the village students, not by passive sympathy, but by presenting and pressing clear demands for academic work.

Personal Warmth versus Professional Distance

Secondary school teachers have generally been socialized by their university training and professional associations to regard impersonal professionalism as the appropriate mode of relating to students. Village students often misinterpreted teachers' impersonalism as disinterest or even hostility. It was those teachers who could assume the diffuse, affectively charged role of personal friend rather than specialized professional who were able to create the warm classroom climate where village students were not afraid to speak in class. The importance of relating to Indians on a personal friend-to-friend basis in relationships defined by western culture as professional expert-to-client has been emphasized by professionals in other roles, such as doctor[20] and psychiatrist.[21]

Over and over again, the effective teachers emphasized that "you've got to be personal." "What you have to do is shed the barrier of formality that you put up between you and the class. Approach them like people you know." "The classroom should be a little family." In contrast to other instructors, these teachers tended to welcome personal friendships from students. Indeed, they might be disappointed that the urban students, accustomed to professional relationships, were only superficially friendly and held them at a distance. As one said:

> I was thrilled when two of the (Native) girls in the class came and visited me at home. They had cocoa and talked about the village and after that they were much less self-conscious. I really enjoyed teaching the Native kids because you can be personal friends with them. They don't reject you the way the White kids do. You can make a very individual and much closer relationship with them than with the students.

Unaccustomed to such personalism in their relationship to students and yet aware it had powerful effects on classroom performance, these teachers in some instances become uneasy. It was difficult for them to reconcile the professionalism they had been taught with the teaching style they found effective.

Unaware of many classical views of the educational process which emphasize the importance of intense relationships between the teacher and the student, they often worried that such personalism was inappropriate. As one commented:

> To get these kids to open up, I had to open up myself. They weren't willing to open up to me until I would open up to them. Gradually, they asked me questions about my marital status, when I had last seen my mother. Professionalism makes you feel you shouldn't open up to kids but I think you can be professional and personal, too.

Teachers similarly became uneasy when they realized that appealing to interpersonal obligations in a learning situation often motivated village students when nothing else seemed to work. As one teacher puzzled about a student who was refusing to study a lesson, "He said that he would study it if I wanted him to. But I felt I should tell him that he should study it for himself, not for me." Or, as another teacher said, "He just wouldn't attend Speech class. Then I told him he was hurting the teachers' feelings because she thought he didn't like her. At that point he said he would go." Teachers found it very difficult to reconcile the western ethic of learning for learning's sake or learning for one's own advancement with village students' ethic or learning for the sake of a personal relationship:

> Once I was driving a student home after an evening at the city council (a classroom assignment) and she asked me "Why do you teach?" I said, "I teach because I like to see kids learn and I get depressed if kids don't learn." I felt funny talking like that to a student. I didn't do it to motivate her or anything but the girl tried harder for several days in my class because I guess she liked me and didn't want me to be depressed.

Different teachers of course used different methods to develop a personalized relationship with students. Most, however, emphasized the importance of developing friendships with students outside of the formal classroom, although it took a great deal of additional time. As one put it, "Establishing a personal relationship outside of class means a special bond occurs in class" that alleviates such problems as communication difficulties. Some teachers were amazed at their improved rapport with Native students when they simply remembered their names and were careful to say "hello" to them in the halls. Many teachers used after school tutoring as a way to get to know village students. Some teachers moved far out of the professional role by encouraging students to call them in the evening when they had problems, or by making such gestures as sending chocolates to a grandmother in the hospital.

Within the classroom, these teachers tended to use to a great extent individualized instruction, where close contact was appropriate. Even when teaching a large group, however, these teachers communicated personal warmth to village students. Primarily, they did so by the use of nonverbal channels of communication. Indians and Eskimos appear to be especially sensitive to nonverbal messages, possibly because awareness of such subtle signals is critical to avoiding the open confrontation that could tear apart a small, interdependent village group.[22] As Currie[23] observes:

> We are a people who use the voice to communicate. We look in a man's eyes, we look at his face when he speaks and this way we know what he says ... with the raise of an eyebrow and the shrug of a shoulder you can say so much more to a person.

Teachers' use of subtle nonverbal signals to communicate warmth to village students was especially important in integrated classrooms. Urban students rarely detected the nonverbal messages to which village students tended to be especially sensitive. Thus, the teacher avoided singling out the village student and showing him favoritism.

Since teachers are rarely trained to become aware of their nonverbal communications, it may be useful to describe in some detail the nonverbal behaviors effective teachers tended to use to communicate warmth. First, these teachers smiled very frequently. While smiling seems obviously appropriate in the classroom, it was surprising to see how infrequently many teachers smiled. Indeed, teachers seemed least likely to smile when it was most important, for example, when they were placing a village student under stress by asking him a question before the class. Uncertain whether or not the student would answer or would stare fixedly at the floor, many teachers reacted to this potentially embarrassing situation by assuming a tense, anxious facial expression. Village students, however, interpreted the teacher's expression not as nervousness, since it was inconceivable that a teacher could have such feelings, but rather as hostility. The added stress of the teacher's supposed irritation made the village student even less likely to answer. Those teachers who elicited a high level of participation, in contrast, maintained a reassuring smile when explaining a difficult concept and an expectant smile when asking a student a question before the class.

Smiling has been found to be the behavioral cue of most significance in judging others' interpersonal warmth.[24] Indeed, Darwin suggests that the universal act of suckling at the mother's breast produces the facial configuration of the smile that becomes associated with other pleasurable experiences.[25] Birdwhistell cautions that the meaning of the smile may differ across cultures but comments that there appears to be no reported society where smiling does not have friendly, positive feelings as one of its meanings.[26]

It is possible that smiling has special significance to Eskimos, and perhaps to Athabascan Indians as well. Eskimo socialization tends to lead to strongly repressed aggression which threatens to break out into extreme violent behavior such as murder.[27] Aware of potential violence in themselves and others, Eskimos tend to defend against it by the smiling, placating demeanor which has become the Eskimo stereotype. Thus, Eskimos tend to view a person who expresses good will by observable happy behavior such as smiling and laughing as a safe person; moody people are feared because they could be plotting aggression.[28]

Smiling may have a similar significance among Athabascan Indians, but the evidence is less direct. Navajos, a group to whom they are closely related, hold the belief that a sad or too serious face can signify a dangerous or evil person.[29] Teachers in Athabascan villages have remarked that frequency of smiling may be used to judge the goodness of White teachers. People may say, "He smiles a lot, he is a nice person."

A second nonverbal cue of warmth used by teachers who elicited high levels of participation from village students was close body distance. The spatial distance one places one's self from another person is an index of the emotional distance of the relationship.[30] A teacher who instructs from the front of the room usually stands at a "formal distance," the distance at which impersonal business is transacted. Successful teachers, in contrast, tended to interact within a "personal distance," the distance which generates a kinesthetic feeling of closeness. Rather than asking a village student a question from the front of the room, for example, they tended to walk close to the student's desk. When teaching the class as a whole, they might seat themselves on a desk in the midst of the students. These teachers also tended to increase their closeness and decrease their dominance by placing themselves on the same postural level as the students, sitting next to them or squatting beside them when they taught.

Close body distance may also be especially important in communicating warmth to village Indian and Eskimo students. Cultures differ in the distances considered appropriate for particular types of interactions.[31] While age and sex differences may lead to some variance, the spatial distance at which Athabascan Indians and Eskimos normatively interact in a personal relationship appears to be much closer than the distance normative for middle class Whites. This cultural difference in body distance is strikingly apparent, for example, in a gym lineup, where the urban students space themselves about half a body apart, and the Indian and Eskimo students cram within touch of each other. A number of

observers have informally remarked that Indian and Eskimo adults, when in rapport with a White person move so close to them that the White person feels uncomfortable and must restrain himself from moving away.

It seems likely that teachers generally stand outside the range Indian and Eskimo students find comfortable for communicating for two reasons. First, village students tend to view academic work as a personal transaction, where a personal body distance is appropriate, while teachers do not. Second, even when teachers do interact within what they consider a personal distance, this distance may be farther away than village students consider normative.

Touching is another nonverbal cue that many of the effective teachers used to communicate warmth. To touch another person, of course, conveys warmth in a very physical sense. Indeed, it may be that the use of the term "warmth" to mean kindness, friendliness, and nurturance derives from early experience of bodily warmth through skin contact with a nurturant mother. Those teachers who elicited a high level of intellectual participation from village students frequently place themselves in positions where body-to-body contact quite naturally occurred. For example, they squatted shoulder-to-shoulder by the student and casually draped an arm around him while explaining a point. They might conduct a demonstration which called for the teacher to place his hands on the student's hands or might give the student a quick hug when privately tutoring him. While female teachers could use touch successfully with both male and female students, male teachers had to be much more cautious. Given the history of sexual exploitation between White males and Native females, a male teacher who touched (or sometimes even looked directly at) an adolescent female, even in the context of instruction, could arouse sexual fears that inhibited learning. Male teachers were successful in generating warmth, however, when they touched male Indian and Eskimo students. In many cases, these male teachers preferred a mock aggressive style of affectionate touching more congruent with the male role, such as the playful punch. Since body-to-body contact is not considered appropriate between teachers and students, especially at the secondary school level, teachers were often embarrassed about touching village students, yet aware of the rapport it could create.

Touching may be a more important channel for the communication of warmth among Indians and Eskimos than among middle class Whites. Mainstream American culture, reflecting the Puritan emphasis on denial of sensual pleasures, it is considered a "no-touch" culture.[32] Indians and Eskimos, in contrast, engage in a high level of bodily contact. While middle class White children generally sleep in separate rooms or at least in their own beds, Indian and Eskimo village children often sleep together in close contact with other human bodies. While middle class White babies spend a great deal of time alone, Eskimo babies are carried in the back of the mother's parka, where they remain in direct contact with her skin. After puberty, middle class Whites touch each other primarily in a sexual context and a touching that occurs outside such a context is likely to be misinterpreted. As Montagu notes, a boy putting his arm around the shoulder of another boy is cause for grave concern.[33] Yet, as teachers uneasily note, Indian and Eskimo adolescent boys and adult men can often be seen with their arms twined around each other. Comradeship, not homosexuality, is the meaning of such bodily contact.

Touching may also be used among Eskimos to signify the acceptance of a stranger into the group. Stefansson, for example, observes that the Eskimos stroked him when he was welcomed into the group.[34] Similar occurrences have been reported by later observers.

> One of the stereotypes of Eskimos is they are stoics; actually they are not, except in relationships with whites. Among themselves they are great patters, huggers, kissers; lots of touching happens between girls and girls, women and women, both sexes and all babies. . . . The minute you get "in" with any group, you are also "in" in a physical, emotional way, too, to a much greater extent than our culture considers normal. Conversational distance is much reduced.[35]

Possibly the teacher's use of touch has a similar meaning of acceptance. From its virtual absence in the education literature (found only under the index heading of corporal punishment), the subject of touching between teacher and student appears to be a taboo topic. Where teacher is able to use comfortably this primary communication channel, he may find it a powerful means of communicating warmth, especially toward Indian and Eskimo students who are accustomed to a larger degree of warm physical contact and who may view touching as a signal of social acceptance. As Peace Corps cross-cultural training manuals warn, people from cultures in which touching is frequent tend to view middle class Americans as cold and superior because they do not engage in physical contact.[36] However, touching cannot be forced if it is not natural to the teacher. Emotionally forced touchings communicate tension and anxiety, not personal warmth, to the student.

In sum, those teachers who succeeded in eliciting a high level of verbal participation from village Indian and Eskimo students tended to create relationships of intense personal warmth, rather than maintaining a stance of professional distance. Teachers communicated such feelings in large part by developing friendships with students outside of the classroom in ways that could be considered professionally inappropriate. Teachers communicated personal warmth within the classroom largely through nonverbal cues such as smiling, close body distance, and touch. Such nonverbal communications were especially effective in integrated classrooms because teachers could convey personal warmth to the village student without singling him out.

In many studies concerning western population groups, teacher warmth has been found to be a central dimension of teacher behavior related to a number of desirable outcomes, such as classroom attentiveness,[37] work productivity,[38] and achievement.[39] However, the effects of teacher warmth upon the intellectual performance of Indian and Eskimo students does not appear to have been examined.

For this reason, a series of three studies were conducted to test the hypothesis that teacher warmth leads to better academic performance among Athabascan Indian and Eskimo students. In the first study,[40] Indian and Eskimo students in two urban integrated schools were asked to rate the emotional climate of the classroom in three major subjects. Then, both the students and their teachers in each subject were asked to rate the student's perception of a warm classroom climate and a high level of verbal participation. In an experimental study,[41] Indian and Eskimo students were given intelligence subtests under conditions of nonverbal warmth versus nonverbal affective neutrality. Where the warm style was used, performance was significantly higher. In a non-obtrusive experiment,[42] Eskimo and White students' degree of learning and verbalness was assessed under conditions of nonverbal warmth versus nonverbal affective neutrality. Warmth generally had substantial effects on learning for both Eskimo and White students and had some significant effects on verbal participation.

It seems possible that teacher warmth may have stronger effects among village Indian and Eskimo students than among White students. It is often suggested that students who are task-oriented may prefer and learn more with an interpersonally oriented teacher. Some evidence for this view has been presented by St. John,[43] who found that Black students' reading achievement gains were higher with an interpersonally oriented teacher, while White students gained more with a task-oriented teacher. This hypothesis is also supported by findings that teacher warmth is more strongly related to the achievement of women students, who tend to be more interpersonally oriented[44] and to the achievement of those men students who evidence high needs for affiliation.[45] The experiment concerning effects of warmth on the learning and verbalness of Eskimo and White students provides some slight support for the hypothesis that warmth is more important to Eskimo students' achievement. However, the similarities in response between the ethnic groups outweighed their differences. This one study is, of course, not conclusive, especially since the short time period may not have permitted cultural group differences to appear. Teachers often comment that it takes several weeks for village students to develop sufficient

trust in the warmth of the instructor to speak in class. Whether there are cross-cultural differences in the effects of warmth upon achievement, however, these three studies do support the notion that personal warmth has substantial effects upon the intellectual performance of village Indian and Eskimo students.

Active Demandingness versus Passive Understanding

Personal warmth, while a necessary condition for eliciting a high level of intellectual performance from Indian and Eskimo students, is not a sufficient condition. Where teachers were warm but required little, village students tended to talk freely to the teacher but did not participate in academic work. The second major factor that differentiated effective and ineffective teachers was the extent to which they clearly presented and pressed for a high level of academic work. "Demandingness"[45] is not as central in the literature on teacher effectiveness as personal warmth. However, this dimension is similar to such concepts as academic standards which appear to lead to higher achievement.[46]

Active demandingness may have special importance in a cross-cultural teaching situation for several reasons. First, teachers in a cross-cultural context tend to be more uncertain of the relevance and legitimacy of their requirements and hence tend to be more hesitant about demanding a high level of academic work. It is those teachers who made a "separate peace" with this ethical question who can turn their energies to effective instruction. Second, Indian and Eskimo students, while actually fearful of the threatening school situation, in many instances attempt to evade stressful learning tasks by playing the role of "shy Native." Many students have found over the years that White teachers expect Natives to stare mutely at the floor when confronted with an academic demand. Students then learn to use this behavior to avoid difficult tasks. Third, as is often pointed out, village Indian and Eskimo students tend to have low academic self-concepts. The operational meaning of a low self-concept in the classroom, however, is that the student underestimates what he actually can do. Thus, if a student is to produce what he is capable of, the teacher must demand more than the student thinks he is capable of.

When asked the key to their success with Indian and Eskimo students, the effective teachers almost invariably replied, "I demand." They scorned those instructors who babied Native students and gave them only "loving kindness." They insisted upon a high level of academic work. Where the overly sensitive teacher soon stopped calling upon Native students who responded to questions by mute withdrawal, for example, these teachers continued to call upon them. If the student did not respond, they casually passed on with a murmured, "We'll come back to you." Not dramatic confrontations but continual pressure "creative nagging," as one teacher called it, eventually led students to respond.

These teachers did not, of course, make demands that were beyond the student's capacity. Demands were made in a humorous or cajoling rather than bludgeoning style. Most important, these teachers avoided making difficult demands until rapport had been established. It was after a personal relationship developed between teacher and student that the student was able to interpret the teacher's academic demandingness as another expression of personal concern.

An important aspect of the demandingness of these effective teachers was to clearly present the structure of learning tasks in a western classroom. Coming from a different cultural background and from multi-grade elementary schools which relied heavily on programmed learning materials village students were often uncertain of what was required in the high school classroom. They rarely possessed the cultural maps, the templates outlining the learning task, that urban students could draw upon to impose order upon a relatively unstructured learning situation. Especially in discussion classes, Indian and Eskimo students often moaned that, "I don't understand what I am supposed to learn." Teachers socialized in the new orthodoxy of the open classroom and the free school tended to exacerbate village students' anxiety by insisting that the student choose what to learn. Having achievement ideals but neither the cultural maps necessary to structure the learning task nor the internalized behavioral controls necessary to carry them out, village students often became anxious and dissatisfied.

Effective teachers tended to provide a large degree of careful structuring of assignments. For example, one teacher taught good writing style by presenting a model paragraph and telling village students to write a new paragraph following the precise sentence patterns, then gradually deviating from them. Teachers who attempted to give village students learning options tended to be dismayed when the students inevitably chose the most highly structured learning task the closest possible approximation to filling in the blanks.

Not only did the effective teachers clearly structure learning tasks but also they carefully articulated the assumptions and conventions of western classrooms. Many teachers noted, for example, that Indian and Eskimo students frequently would not answer examination questions at all when they were uncertain if their answer was correct and thus received much poorer grades than otherwise. Similarly, students often crumpled partially completed assignments into the wastebasket rather than turning them in for partial credit. Such behavior is probably rooted partly in cultural traditions of publicly performing a skill only after it has been privately perfected in order to save face.[47] However, once teachers explicitly explained western cultural assumptions concerning the importance of effort and therefore academic rewards for effort, village Indian and Eskimo students behaved in ways that secured these rewards.

The importance of overt demandingness in effective teaching of village Indian and Eskimo students was quite surprising in view of strongly anti-authoritarian traditional cultural norms.[48] This paradox of highly nondirective cultural norms together with high demandingness in effective teaching may be resolved in the traditional expression of authority through subtle techniques of interpersonal influence. Among Eskimos, authority was not structured in terms of formal rules such as legal system or in terms of formal rules such as a headman or chief.[49] While Athabascan Indians did have a chief, his decisions in issues of social control tended to be an expression of the community consensus rather than an independent decision resulting from his formal role as chief.[50] Thus, social control depended not on the rules and roles of a rational-legal system but rather on the effective use of interpersonal techniques of influence or on personal charismatic authority.[51] Thus, appealing to the authority supposedly inherent in the role of teacher or in the rules of the school tended to have little effect with the village students. Teachers exercised authority rather by a virtue of strong personality or by developing significant personal relationships that permitted the use of subtle interpersonal influence techniques. This interdependence of the personal warmth and demandingness factors in effective teaching of Indian and Eskimo students may reconcile the Indian education literature suggesting the importance of emotional closeness with the literature suggesting the importance of strong personality and strict discipline.

Part IV
A TYPOLOGY OF TEACHERS

Teachers of Indian and Eskimo students may be classified by the two dimensions that appear to be central in eliciting intellectual participation — personal warmth versus professional distance and active demandingness versus passive understanding. Since teacher warmth and demandingness have been found to be independent dimensions of teacher behavior,[52] such a two-dimensional typology is appropriate. Moreover, very similar dimensions have been found useful in defining the characteristics of successful and unsuccessful persons in other types of cross-cultural helping relationships involving Eskimos and Athabascan Indians such as boarding home parent[53] or psychiatrist.[54]

This classification system yields a typology of four kinds of teachers (see Figure 1). These classes should be viewed as ideal types, which of course do not adequately describe every teacher. However, these types do correspond to characteristic syndromes of teacher behavior that are easily observable in classrooms.

Type 1: "Traditionalists"
(Professional Distance — Active Demandingness)

The traditionalist, a type of teacher who has been in some ways unjustifiably maligned in contemporary educational thought, tended to concentrate exclusively on the academic subject matter.

He ignored the interpersonal dimension of the classroom, which he considered a professionally illegitimate area of concern. These teachers generally preferred formally presented, highly structured lessons such as lectures which permitted them to maintain distance from their students. In some instances these traditionalist teachers were ethnocentric and regarded students as foreign objects to be transformed as quickly as possible into Americans. However, in as many instances, these teachers very much cared about the village students in their classes and were concerned only that the students were not able to learn their subject matter.

For academically competent urban students who were also subject matter oriented, the traditionalist could be a successful, stimulating teacher. However, this formal, impersonal teaching style, which relied in the main on oral comprehension, tended to be disastrous with village Indian and Eskimo students.

When the traditionalist taught in an integrated classroom, he focused his attention on those students who were similarly subject matter oriented, and the Indian and Eskimo students were merely ignored.

> Mr. W. is a nervous man with a perpetually strained facial expression. The students are seated in rows with the Indian and Eskimo students predominantly in the far corner of the classroom closest to the door.
>
> During the observation, Mr. W. stood behind his desk lecturing. His lecture and occasional questions were interlaced with sarcasm such as "That's a good attitude!" He placed a summary of the main concepts of the lecture, highly technical terms, on the board. The Indian and Eskimo students dutifully wrote down the words.
>
> In a later interview, Mr. W. voiced serious concern for village students and noted that their main problem in the class was vocabulary. They couldn't understand what he was saying. While some village students work, Mr. W. mentioned, "tell me that the Native students are afraid of me because I yell at them. Well, I do jump on them when they are slack on work."
>
> Some of the Indian and Eskimo students complained to their counselor that Mr. W. was prejudiced, and the counselor was attempting to remove them from his class.

When the traditionalist taught in an all-Native classroom, where similarly task-oriented students were not available to provide him with the satisfaction of teaching subject mastery, the class reached a deadlock. Teacher-student interaction in these classrooms resembled the situation most commonly described in the Indian education literature — a silent Native peer group united against a carping, hostile teacher insensitive to the interpersonal values that far outweighed his paltry achievement concerns.

> Mrs. M. is an older woman who was formerly an assistant principal. The setting is intended to be an open classroom with carpet, movable chairs, and space enough for several teachers to work together. Mrs. M. has appropriated her space, walled it in with bookcases, and lined up her students in neat rows.
>
> Throughout the observation, Mrs. M. glowered at her class. "What is the name of this village on the Yukon?" she challenged, pointing to a large map. The class remained silent, although it seemed unlikely that no one knew the answer, since several students came from the village. One young man raised his hand and asked for a pencil. "No, you don't need a pencil because we don't mark on maps," Mrs. M. snapped.
>
> "Now come on. You may not know now, but believe me you will by the time I get through with you."

In a later interview, Mrs. M. said that she found this teaching situation extremely frustrating because she wanted to teach but the students would not learn. "These kids aren't as dumb as they like to make us think," she observed. "They just play dumb. I'm not teaching anything. They're just wasting their money paying me. I'm not doing my job."

Type II: "Sophisticates" (Professional Distance — Passive Understanding)

For urban, highly verbal students, these teachers were a delight. Their professional distance was not coldness so much as sophisticated reserve. Their humor was subtle, tending toward irony. They preferred a discussion class where students could discover intellectual concepts for themselves. The sophisticate teachers tended to be highly educated and well-traveled. They often had an excellent background in anthropology and were very concerned about the welfare of village Indian and Eskimo students in their classes.

As teachers of Indian and Eskimo students, however, the sophisticates tended to be failures. In an integrated classroom, the teacher generally found himself teaching to the urban students, while the Indian and Eskimo students watched in tense apprehension. Accustomed to the highly structured textbooks and programmed learning materials of many village schools, village students rarely understood what was expected of them in these classrooms. With their limited English skills, they would have had a difficult time entering the fast paced classroom repartee had they wanted to. In addition, village students often were frightened by these teachers' ironic comments and indirect instructional techniques, such as playing "Devil's Advocate."

> Miss R., a young teacher dressed in Carnaby Street style, has seated her students in a circle. She began a discussion of the film just shown, an account of foreign revolt that draws symbolic parallels to repression in American politics. She attempted to enable students to grasp the symbolic implications of the film by skillful indirect questions. The Native students remained silent, while the other students excitedly called out answers. Finally, one student understood the film's message. The teacher responded in a tone of mock horror, "You mean there is no freedom in America?" The Native students' eyes widened in fear, and they squirmed further down in their seats.

In their concern for the Native students, these teachers made many attempts to be supportive and to establish a sense of camaraderie. These attempts, however, tended to backfire. For example, students often misinterpreted their humor. An interpersonal approach that might have established rapport between the teacher and a sophisticated urban student merely frightened the village student:

> An Eskimo girl asked Mr.D. for a hall pass. "What color of slips are we using today," Mr. D. teased, "blue, green, or chartreuse? You know it isn't easy to work in a police state." The girl stared at him in confusion and hastily ran out into the hall.

Attempting to read and apply all the principles of cross-cultural psychology, the sophisticates tried too hard. As one put it:

> My intense efforts to get them to feel comfortable with me may have been having a reverse effect. They may have sensed that I was tense, thereby keeping them from relaxing while with me. I found that I unconsciously developed an attitude almost of dislike toward them because I had made such efforts to reach them and had been rejected. It is most likely that this attitude was coming through more than I realized.

While sophisticated teachers in integrated classrooms did little damage beyond making village students feel uncomfortable and teaching them little, the sophisticate in an all-Native classroom could do serious harm. Interested in the psychology of Native students, these teachers often focused on Native-White differences and reinforced students' sense of being different and estranged. While the following interaction was stimulated by the video-taping process, it is not dissimilar from what was observed in other classes of this type:

> Mr. G. was teaching an all-Native orientation class in a large urban school. He attempted to produce an informal classroom atmosphere by sitting casually on his desk top with the students placed in a circle. However, his other nonverbal communications negated this carefully planned message. Mr. G.'s hunched posture with his arms wound tightly around his body and fingers pressing into his arms, communicated tension and reserve. The students dutifully seated themselves in a circle, but had moved their chairs to the very edge of the room so the camera panned from the teacher to the class in great physical and psychological vistas.
>
> The camera man teased the students, "O.K. say cheese." Mr. G. added nervously, "You are assimilated into White man's culture. You know you are supposed to smile when he says cheese." The students giggled apprehensively. "Why is he taking a picture of the class?" Mr. G. asked. There is no response except more nervous giggling. "Do you think if this were a White class he'd be here?" continued Mr. G. Again there was no response. "He's here because there are quite a number of Natives here. What is the difference about this class?" One Native boy raised his hand and said, "Because people who have different backgrounds should share their opinions." Ignoring the opportunity to develop this student's ideas, Mr. G. dismissed his answer with a curt "No. There are other classes where students have different backgrounds like there are Black kids in this school. What's different about this class? What do most of the Native students have in common?" Another student called out, "Skin color." "No, No, No," Mr. G. said quickly, horrified by the racism implied.
>
> In a later interview, Mr. G. commented that he had a difficult time making the students understand that they were in a special orientation class because they came from villages and were different. "If White kids were sitting here, I said to them, wouldn't they be arguing and noisy?" You know, the Native kids made negative comments about the White kids' verbalness. Perhaps Natives associate loud talking with aggressiveness and a White identity. That's really an interesting idea," he mused.

These sophisticated teachers had a tendency to use Native students to advance their own anthropological interests. Writing assignments where the students were asked to describe their feeling in the city replaced training in skills of analytic writing. Moreover, these teachers sometimes socialized village students into the stereotyped behavior that their anthropological studies had led them to expect:

> Mr. N. was reading Indian poetry to the class in an affected tone. The poems, written in pidgin English, illustrated the Indian value of modesty. In explaining them, Mr. N. expanded, "Now this poem shows many of the things we've talked about. We've commented on how most of the Native people aren't aggressive, nowhere nearly as much as White people. The idea of competition and bragging and boasting are alien to them, and so we think of them as very quiet and shy and insecure."

These teachers' fascination with cultural differences also led them to place Indian and Eskimo students in a special category where they were exempt from the standards of behavior and academic performance applicable to other human beings. Such misplaced kindness might teach the village student to become dependent on the largess of Whites rather than on his own capacities:

> After class, an Indian girl came up to Mrs. L. and told her that she had been sick and had missed the last test. "What should I study for it?" she asked. "Don't worry," Mrs. L. said kindly. "I'll make up a special test for you and you will do well on it." "But I don't know what to study," the girl persisted. "Don't worry," repeated Mrs. L., basking in self-approval. "I'll make it special for you. You'll do well."

Any form of deviant behavior among Native students was viewed as an expression of their culture which the teacher should be wary of changing. For example, one teacher described the case of a village student who compulsively stole from other students and the teacher. The teacher believed that this behavior reflected cultural values of sharing and communal ownership and saw the issue as one of "changing the child's culture."

Type III: "Sentimentalists"
(Personal Warmth — Passive Understanding)

These teachers tended to be extremely warm, kindly people who found it difficult to make demands upon any students, village and urban alike. The urban students, taking advantage of the teacher's weakness, tended to defy even his minimal requirements until the teacher reacted with aggrieved anger. The Indian and Eskimo students, in contrast, were usually too insecure to challenge the teacher and valued his personal attentions. Thus, the sentimentalist teacher in the integrated classroom found himself in a situation where he was behaving with angry irritation toward the urban students, who defied him, but with great kindliness toward the Indian and Eskimo students, who permitted him to act in the warm, undemanding style he preferred. This apparent teacher favoritism in turn angered the urban students, already resentful of the special treatment accorded village students in the school. This complex interaction between the teacher and different student groups resulted in a situation where the warmth of the teacher toward the village student was nullified by the hostility of urban classmates.

> Mrs. M., an outcast among the other teachers because of certain oddities, strongly identified with the village students. The students had arranged themselves in a double circle. Two Native girls were sitting together close to the teacher's desk in the inner circle with a number of empty chairs separating them from the other students in this first circle. In the back circle two Native boys were seated next to the other students.
>
> Mrs. M. attempted to have the class discuss a movie she had just shown. "What do you think is happening?" she asked. There was no response from the class, and Mrs. M. repeated the question. The class began to make silly responses, teasing the teacher, but she ignored them. In the midst of the lesson, the teacher walked over to the two Native girls and held a private conversation inaudible to the observer. The lesson stopped as the teacher and the girls giggled together. When the teacher moved away, the Native girls whispered to each other in Eskimo. Two Black girls in the outer circle mocked the gutteral Eskimo sounds, "Dong, Dong, Dong." The faces of the Native boys sitting next to them contracted into stoic masks.

Extremely sympathetic to the academic difficulties of Native students in integrated classrooms and wanting to be liked, sentimentalist teachers made few demands upon them, and little learning took place.

> An older Indian student sauntered into his last period class, sat down, and stared out the window. Mrs. O. came up to him, put her arm around him, and joked about a comment he had made. He smiled back at her and told her about his weekend. The lesson began and he returned to staring out the window. Mrs. O. made no attempt to induce him to participate in the classwork, although she continued to joke with him at intervals.
>
> In a later interview, Mrs. O. observed that she was very easy going and believed in a laissez-faire theory of education. "After all, you can't make students learn."

While the sentimentalist teacher in an integrated classroom could damage the Native student by arousing urban students' resentments, the sentimentalist teacher in an all-Native classroom did little damage if little good. Indeed, the sentimentalist is reminiscent of Dumont's categorization of the "nice" teacher who doesn't teach anything. The class generally performed trivial, workbook type assignments that did not stretch their capacities.

> Mrs. L., a young teacher with a gentle smile, had given her ninth grade students the assignment of tracing a map of Alaska. She wandered around and joked with the students. After a while, she sat at a table and began a totally unrelated game. "Who would like to make $10.00? Let's see if you can do this match trick!"

Type IV: "Supportive Gadflies"
(Personal Warmth — Active Demandingness)

These teachers tended to be highly successful with both urban and village students in both integrated and all-Native classrooms. The teaching style that elicited a high level of intellectual participation with village students tended to be more obvious in all-Native classrooms because the teacher could more easily emphasize certain behaviors. Similar methods were used more subtly, however, in integrated classrooms. The teachers in this group have been given the ambivalent label "supportive gadflies" to emphasize their demanding aspect, which many teachers find distasteful, as well as their warm aspect, which many teachers find gratifying.

In contrast to most other teachers who plunged immediately into academic work, these teachers spent a substantial amount of time at the beginning of the year establishing positive interpersonal relationships, not only between teacher and students, but also within the student group. Interestingly, a similar procedure is often recommended in cross-cultural training manuals. Frequently, task-oriented westerners fail to accomplish their goals in a cross-cultural encounter because they attempt to begin business at once. Members of other cultural groups often consider a lengthy period devoted exclusively to establishing appropriate social relationships as a task prerequisite. Thus, these teachers might spend the first days getting to know the students and helping them with nonacademic problems, such as how to find their classes or how to work the combination to their lockers. They also made sure that the students knew each others' names. One teacher, for example, began the year by playing a game where each student had to learn the name and village of each of the other students in the classroom and call them out loudly enough to be understood. "Before we could bring them up in the academic area," one teacher summed up, "we tried to get them to feel comfortable in the classroom. Once they feel comfortable, then they catch up quickly."

Only after rapport had been established did these teachers become demanding. Demands, however, were inevitably accompanied by a warm smile, gentle teasing, and other forms of emotional support. Thus, village students did not interpret the teacher's demandingness as bossiness but rather as one more facet of his personal concern. For the village student, producing a high level of academic work became a reciprocal obligation in a highly personal relationship. The emotional intensity between

teacher and student in many of the classroom encounters, where academic performance becomes unfused into the mutual obligations and privileges of personal bonds, is difficult to describe. One teacher, for example, made a solemn pact with a withdrawn boy, promising that she would stay with him and help him find the answer as long as necessary if he would only try to say anything except "I don't know" in response to every question.

> Sometimes he would actually bite his tongue to stop from saying "I don't know." He was so used to it. It had saved him from his other teachers. I know it was hard for him to translate everything back and forth from Eskimo and easy for him to avoid the situation by saying "I don't know." But we worked on it.

Unlike the sentimentalists, these teachers used personal rapport to increase academic performance:

> Mrs. C. is an elegantly attired Native woman with a radiant smile. She sat casually on top of a student's desk in the middle of the class and leaned into the group of village students.
>
> "Who can tell me what a topic sentence is?" She inquired, with an air suggesting that this information was a secret to be shared between her and the class. "I see one hand, two hands." She waited calmly, smiling at the class with anticipation. "Three hands, four, O.K., Tom." Tom murmured quietly, "Main idea." She smiled at him waiting. Then she learned toward him and whispered in an intimate tone, "I can't hear you." Rearing up in his seat with great effort, he repeated more loudly, "MAIN IDEA," and slumped back beaming. Other students began to call out, "Thing you're going to write about." "Very good," Mrs. C. said, "Very, very good. Now, who would like to read their paper to the class?" "Loud and clear, please," she added with decision.
>
> In a later interview, Mrs. C. commented that her problem was not to get village students to talk but to get them to keep quiet. "They're so eager," she explained, "even on deadly things like English grammar. They are reluctant, but they will do it if you demand it. One of the kids came up to me yesterday and said, "You act like a sergeant." "Yup," I said, "that's exactly right."

While demanding a high level of intellectual participation, these teachers were highly supportive of any attempt the student did make. They very consciously avoided even the most minor forms of direct criticism. As one teacher said:

> You know why they won't talk in class? Because every time they open up their mouth somebody corrects them. We give them constant reassurance that mistakes don't matter. You have to be positive and try not to say "no" or "wrong." I say "you're close" or I change the question to fit the answer. For example, if you say "What is a verb?" and they answer "Name of a person, place, or thing," I say, "That's a beautiful answer for the question *What is a noun?* and we'll talk about nouns later...

Teachers often commented that what seemed to them to be the most mild of critical remarks could cause village students to retreat into silence indefinitely. Indian and Eskimo students' extreme sensitivity to criticism may be due in part to cultural differences in the meaning of critical messages of similar intensity. Criticism is traditionally conveyed through very indirect verbal messages or through subtle non-verbal signals. Thus the village students are likely to interpret the direct criticisms mild by western standards as much more severe than intended.

These teachers used a number of different methods to avoid directly criticizing students. One of these techniques, a strategy common among Indian and Eskimo villagers, was to impersonalize a situation where a particular individual might be accused of wrong-doing. The wrong-doing is discussed in the presence of the offender, but without personal reference to him. For example, at a village meeting, the problem of getting work done in the community might be brought up without mentioning the names of the offenders, who are sitting at the meeting and whom everybody knows. Similarly, a teacher approaching a daydreaming village student might say not "Why did you close your book?" but rather "Why is that book closed? Did the wind blow it shut?"

Another indirect method of criticism used by these teachers which is also common among Indians and Eskimos, is the penetrating, direct stare. Teachers were often amazed at the sensitivity of more traditional village students to this control strategy. Since it is a traditional disciplinary measure, teachers learned to avoid a direct stare where disapproval was not intended, for example, in asking a question. The penetrating gaze that White people commonly use to signal interest in the speaker may be interpreted by Indians and Eskimos as a display of anger.[55]

Joking was another way these teachers expressed criticism. Humorous teasing is an extremely important expressive mode among Indians and Eskimos because it provides a socially approved form for releasing strongly controlled aggression.[56] The appropriate style is broad, straight-faced joshing. Thus, a teacher might say to a misbehaving student in a tone that mocked not only the seriousness of the rebuke, but also the teacher herself as a self-important White person who used big words. "Jack, I am INQUIR-ING of you what are you doing?" A *practical joker* strain is a core element of modal Indian personality[57] and popular teachers found themselves chagrined victims of village students' often earthy jokes, such as pulling off the teacher's wig.

In integrated classrooms, these supportive gadfly teachers often structured the class in ways largely for the village students' benefit. However, they avoided giving the students any special attention that would attract the notice of the other students. For example, since the teacher had a difficult time using village students' facial expressions or verbal responses to determine if they understood a concept, he might ask a question and tell all students to write down the answer. Then he would go around the room barely glancing at papers other than those of the village students. Similarly, realizing that the village students often did badly on tests not because they did not know the information, but rather because they could not understand the vocabulary or intent of the questions, these teachers might make up several versions of the same test for all students. These teachers also tended to individualize classwork so that personal tutoring of village students could be accepted as a matter of course.

These teachers in an integrated classroom situation also controlled urban student's animosities so that village students could participate without fear of being laughed at. Some teachers carefully headed off anticipated hostility by such remarks as "This is new to all of us so let's not be a critical audience." Others attempted to increase the Native student's status in the classroom group by devising lessons that emphasized his competencies. One science teacher, for example, found that the problem of urban students' mocking of village students abruptly stopped after he assigned a paper on how to survive if lost while hunting. A few teachers attempted to develop inter-group trust by assignments where urban and village students worked together in teams. Resistance to this idea generally came from the Native students who protested, sometimes tearfully, that "the White kids don't like us."

Part V
CONCLUSION

This study suggests that the essence of the instructional style that elicits a high level of intellectual performance from village Indian and Eskimo students is first to create an extremely warm personal relationship and then to present and press clear demands for high level of academic work. Village students then interpret the teacher's academic demandingness not as bossiness or hostility, but rather as an expression of his concern for them. Meeting the teacher's academic standards becomes their reciprocal obligation in an intensely personal relationship.

This study also suggests that those teachers who are effective with Indian and Eskimo students also tend to be effective with urban students. However, the converse is not true. Teachers who are highly successful with urban students may be unsuccessful with village students. Teaching village students is a specialized skill which many otherwise excellent teachers may not posess.

In the past, it has been the traditionalist teacher, especially the highly ethnocentric traditionalist, who epitomized the undesirable teacher of Indian and Eskimo students. This type of teacher, with his comical horror of eating fish soup rather than bacon and eggs for breakfast, can still be found. However, he is becoming an increasingly rare specimen in the cross-cultural classroom.

It is the sentimentalist and sophisticate teachers who are emerging as a new and perhaps more insidious danger. These teachers may use Native students to gratify their own affiliative needs and intellectual interests. They may socialize Native students into sophisticated cultural stereotypes. They may stimulate prejudice among other students by blatant Native favoritism. When village students make little intellectual progress, these teachers tend to rationalize their failure to teach by theories about cultural preservation just as the traditionalist teachers rationalize their failure to teach by theories about cultural deprivation.

Through what methods can schools improve the quality of teaching received by Indian and Eskimo high school students? Pre-service and in-service cross-cultural education programs may be of some help. Their effects, however, should not be overestimated. The impact of short-term training programs on fundamental interpersonal orientations, such as personal warmth, which may depend on early family and peer group experiences[58] is quite limited. Moreover, unless carefully planned, these courses can merely increase teachers' tendency to move toward the sophisticate instructional style. Teacher training programs, however, can help teachers who find it difficult to communicate personal warmth to learn to arrange their classrooms in informal ways that facilitate personal relationships with students. Moreover, such training programs can also serve an important function in legitimizing active demandingness so that teachers come to view high academic standards, not passive sympathy, as the appropriate expression of their concern for Indian and Eskimo students.

Better methods of teacher selection can probably do a great deal to improve the quality of village students' instruction. This study suggests the dangers of relying primarily on self-selection to choose teachers for Indian and Eskimo students. While the traditionalist teacher may indeed prefer to teach other groups of students who are more task-oriented, the sentimentalist and sophisticate teachers, as well as the supportive gadflies, tend to volunteer for these teaching assignments. Moreover, sentimentalist teachers are likely to impress school personnel favorably because of their obvious overwhelming concern for village students. Sophisticate teachers may make similarly good impressions because of their excellent anthropological backgrounds. School personnel should be aware of both the personal warmth and active demandingness required of effective teachers of village students and avoid creating classroom situations that are both demoralizing for the teacher and damaging for the student. It should be recognized that cross-cultural teaching effectiveness is a special skill and is by no means the only criterion of worth as a teacher.

FOOTNOTES

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COVERT CLANS: FACTIONALISM AS AN ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATION FOR THE ALASKAN BUSH TEACHER

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People who live and work at the cultural interface are constantly beset with both physical and cultural issues with which they are ill equipped to cope. Responses to these issues, generally falling under the rubric of culture shock, make positive adjustment to village living complex. One of the more pervasive, though covert, cultural influences on "outsiders" living in small Alaskan villages is the existence of factions. How teachers and other outsiders identify and deal with these groups and how these groups deal with them is a crucial factor in their acceptance by villagers. If a positive relationship with some villagers has not developed, most teachers will seek a transfer or leave the bush altogether. Whether or not factionalism has come into play may not be known by outsiders or even teachers themselves, but normally villagers will have had an influence in the decision. In order that this process be better understood this paper examines the development of factions in one village and their subsequent impact upon a series of teachers.

The author lived in the village described for two years and, as teacher, conducted informal research on factional activity. Subsequent interviews with previous teachers and villagers provided further information concerning village and teacher interaction.

Further, in each of the five rural Alaskan villages where the author has lived, factions have been in evidence. Discussions with teachers and agency people who have made contact in other villages reveal that factional activity is common throughout bush Alaska.[1] Anthropologist George Foster states that devisiveness is the case wherever rapid cultural change is occuring:

> Rapid change frequently promotes divisive tendencies in traditional groups, thus making cooperative efforts even more difficult than under preexisting conditions ... Faced with many new choices, as are today's villagers, the opportunities for differing judgments are vastly increased, with resulting conflicts in opinions. (1969:119).

Many anthropologists have discussed the stresses of working and living in another culture (Golde 1970, Powdermaker 1966, Briggs 1970) but they have not described their involvement with village factions; this is such an attempt. The paper is offered as a partial answer to Wintrob's excellent question:

> What practical means could be utilized to extend the fieldworker's understanding of his own psychological needs and responses, and to broaden his understanding of the psychological significance of the reactions of the people he sets out to study? (1969:78).

The author will be using Nicholas' description of factions (1965:27-29). Factions are politically conflicting groups, not corporate groups. They are recruited by leaders who use diverse principles to pursuade their followers. Factional activity consists of an issue of conflict and recruiting of members by leaders concurrent with "battling" of the two sides. Eventually one side wins the issue and has its desires

[1] An earlier paper (Cline and Moser, 1969) examines the effects of factionalism on the intercultural teacher using case studies from three Alaskan bush villages.

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acceded to. Factional membership may then diminish or become dormant until another point of conflict arises at which time the process is repeated, perhaps with different actors on differing issues with differing results. Faction, group, clan,[2] side, and other divisive terms used will all refer to faction as defined above. Factionalism, then differs from alliance as described by Guemple and others (Guemple 1971:2) since it is not institutionalized though its content is negotiable between actors. It also differs in that alliance forms (marriage, partnerships, spouse exchanges, and the like) are means to draw disparate social segments into articulation and produce stability, whereas factionalism is a means of infighting.

This paper is organized in four parts: background, factions and the teacher, a closer view of teacher-faction interaction, and a discussion.

Background

The village of Dolbi (a pseudonym) is located on a major river in the interior of Alaska and consists of about 180 Athabascan Indian residents. The town itself has been in existence 20 years. Prior to that time a smaller village was located upriver, but most families lived there only temporarily as they spent most of their time at other fishing, hunting, and trapping camps. Early white contact was made by Russian explorers and a Russian trader established a semi-permanent fur trading camp further south along the river for a few years. In the early 1900's permanent white contact was made in the region by two trapper-trader-miners, Smith and Johnson, who settled in different locations along the river and took local wives. Eventually Johnson left the area but his sons remained. By the 1940's the people desired more direct contact with white society and agitated for a school, airstrip, and post office but agency people told them higher ground must be found before these could be constructed because of periodic flooding in their current location. The people discussed moving the village to a new site.

The present village location was chosen by James, the young son of Trader Johnson, because it was higher than the surrounding country and met the criteria established by agency people. Trader Smith and his wife, Lilly, were reluctant to move from their old location. In an attempt to prevent the move Trader Smith reported to federal marshalls that James was planning to run gambling games in the new village. James had to make a trip to Fairbanks in order to clear himself and declared, "If that old man won't move his store where the people want to live, we'll build a store of our own!" Under this pressure Trader Smith moved, asking for and receiving help from villagers in building his new store. Shortly after this a school was constructed, an airstrip built, and a post office established.

Eventually another store was started by James but within a year his store burned down. Trader Smith died and, as the years passed, more active competition grew between Lilly and James. A "co-op" store was formed by James and his friends. Lilly was postmaster, welfare agent, airline agent, and the village radio operator, and she operated a lodge and sold electricity. James ran a pool and pan hall, the village movie theater, and sold electricity as well as informally managing the co-op store.

In terms of the factional alignments which developed each of the two leaders usually received initial support from his close relatives. In Lilly's case this generally meant her two married brothers. James drew support from his brother and the families of his first two wives. However, apart from this, other factional members were recruited on different grounds such as the personality of the leader and the conflict involved. James had an advantage in this respect in that he was an aggressive young man with a vibrant personality. Villagers would often congregate in his pool and pan hall to listen to him tell stories and legends and to discuss a variety of subjects. Lilly visited rarely and did her recruiting in her store when people came to get mail, welfare checks, or groceries. Being friends with her assured one of store credit and welfare assistance if it was needed.

Of the twenty-four households in Dolbi, James could normally count on support from ten young active heads of households. Lilly received support from six families, all of whom were middle-aged or

[2] Clans as they exist in areas of coastal southeastern Alaska do not exist in this village.

older. Some of these may have given her support because they had traded with her husband. There were also six apparently neutral families who generally preferred to stay out of the battling and became aligned only under extreme pressure.

By the time of this study it appeared that Lilly's prestige was gradually diminishing. Apparent pressure from the other side was causing her to lose some of her agency roles — the health aide received "her own" radio and another person was made welfare agent. With the exception of Lilly's son, nearly all the young people in the village supported James' side. For example, the village council president and a majority of the council elected by villagers were always supporters of James.

Villagers' houses clustered about the houses of James and Lilly and the visiting patterns reflected alliances of various individuals. When an issue arose the two sides "battled" until one side had won or a more important subject of conflict surfaced. Generally such conflicts were related to outside agencies such as monopoly of the radio, mail service, welfare payments, or school operation. According to villagers, letters were continually being written to outside agencies to insure that equitable treatment for all villagers was maintained.

Villagers' life style revolved around seasonal activities. During the summer men fought fires, worked as riverboat pilots, or worked on a gold dredge while their wives and children fished. At this time of year factional activity diminished greatly. In the fall, winter and spring villagers resumed residence in their log cabins in the village and hunted and trapped. It was at this time of year factional activity flourished.

Factions and the Teacher

The first teaching couple to remain in the village more than two years was apparently well liked. When they first came Lilly, whose husband had recently died, became close friends with them, visiting often and confiding in them concerning her own economic status. When a year or so later she became interested in a white construction worker who visited the village, the teachers found themselves interacting more with members of the other side. They felt that Lilly's new husband not only divided her from them but also separated her further from the other side. They saw themselves as belonging to James' group. In their fifth year they were joined by a third teacher, a young unmarried woman who remained in Dolbi for the next five years. The teaching couple left at the end of that year so that their daughters might attend high school. No apparent pressure was exerted on them to leave by either group.

The single teacher remained and a couple in their fifties was sent in to teach. This couple immediately became close friends with Lilly and her new husband, saying they did not trust anyone else in the village, which ultimately seemed to include the other teacher. They bought all their groceries from her store and interacted often with her, apparently feeling that if the trader was on their side they would be safe politically. Other villagers, however, noted many idiosyncracies of this couple who never visited them and only rarely accepted villagers in their home (carefully cleaning after they had gone) and who said: "You can't trust these Indians. All of them are out to get you." Whether they brought this view with them or it was conditioned by Lilly is not known. The single teacher warned them to keep their door locked when there was drinking in the village as she had heard threats against them. By this time the single teacher had developed close relationships with several women in James' group, if for no other reason than the couple did not interact with her. By midyear James' supporters were outraged with this couple's one-sided behavior and without the teachers' knowledge, the advisory school board, which was then composed of James' faction, wrote a letter asking that the teaching couple be removed and that the single teacher remain. School board's wishes were followed at the end of the year and James' faction saw that their actions did count. For the first time factional muscles had been flexed on teachers.

Another couple was sent in to teach with the single teacher the following year and, again, Lilly worked at developing close relationships with the new teachers by hauling their supplies, taking them hunting and sight seeing and inviting them to dinner often. However, as the year progressed, these teachers became increasingly disenchanted as they listened to what the other side said about how Lilly

ran the post office and served as welfare agent. Further, they helped James' side begin the co-op store. By the end of the year they were identified with James' faction, but partly because of the political battling and a variety of other reasons, not the least of which was culture shock, they left the village voluntarily. Again the single teacher remained.

At this point the single teacher had lived in the village for three years, enjoying a positive relationship with James' side, but as her stay lengthened she noted Lilly seemed to become more critical of her. She found herself in disagreement with Lilly over several issues such as postal policies, welfare, store policies, and use of the Public Health Service radio — all issues that James' faction had apparently brought to her attention.

A young couple joined the faculty next and, in spite of overtures made to them by Lilly and her husband, they became increasingly allied with James' group. They were interested in dog team racing and better dog mushers belonged to James' group. In addition, they helped the new co-op store order supplies and figure out prices. Thus, they interacted almost exclusively with members of James' faction. All three of the teachers were allied with James' side and from time to time had minor conflicts with Lilly over postal hours and sending mail with friends. They also ordered their groceries from Seattle, buying occasionally at the co-op store and hardly ever at Lilly's. At the end of two years the couple decided to move to a different village and the single teacher transferred to a one-teacher school. It was clear that if any of the teachers had wanted to stay they could have, for they had the support of the major faction. However, after the single teacher transferred Lilly commented: "That teacher was here too long. She's too one-sided and I wrote the state about it too. Any teacher that acts like that had better look out. We wrote about others too." How important her letters were is not known, but undoubtedly they had some impact for an administrator who visited the village the following year told the new teachers: "You have to watch it in this place, you can't be too much on one side or the other. Otherwise the other side will get you. It's happened several times here."

A Closer View of Teacher-Faction Interaction

It has been seen that each teacher to come to the village was aligned in the village political scene and the following year proved to be no exception. Three new teachers were assigned to the school, a middle-aged single man with several years teaching experience in the vicinity of Dolbi who was designated as head teacher, and a young couple with one year Alaskan bush teaching experience. In discussions with the other teachers prior to the beginning of school the head teacher revealed that he was aware of "things going on in Dolbi," (apparent factional activity) and he stated, "I'm not going to get caught in it at all. I'm just not going to participate. That way no one can accuse me of being on the 'other side'." He told them that he had made friends with the school board chairman (an important member of James' group) and also with Lilly while he lived in a nearby village, thus assuring his neutrality. Largely upon his advice the couple also decided to remain neutral.

Prior to the opening of school a village meeting was held to elicit bids from villagers for the hauling of school supplies from the river barge to the school. Sealed bids were submitted from three sources: one from each side and one from another individual. When the bids were opened by the head teacher at the meeting, he noted that one bid did not include all of the supplies. He called the bidder, a representative from Lilly's side, to the front of the assembly to qualify his bid. James' followers promptly challenged this action with bitter comments directed to each other and to the head teacher. The head teacher perceived himself as being caught in the middle of the controversy, but some villagers commented later that he had attempted to help Lilly's side. "We saw him do that. He tried to help them because he knows them better."

This inauspicious start notwithstanding, and in contrast to normal small village activity, the head teacher made efforts to demonstrate his intent at non-involvement in village affairs. He pulled the shades in his quarters and refused to answer the door to visitors. He emerged only to teach school, and to get or send mail, and to purchase food. At first he purchased food from Lilly's store because it was closest to his quarters, but when the teaching couple informed him they had been asked, "Why does that guy buy only

from one store? Other teachers always bought from both stores," soon he began to purchase at the co-op store also. Following examples of previous teachers he was extended dinner invitations by Lilly and her husband and at first accepted, but as the year progressed he declined, telling the other teachers, "I don't want to be on either side."

The teaching couple began interacting frequently with village people. They attended all communal activities, visited in village homes, and accepted Lilly's invitations to dinner. The man began hunting and trapping regularly with James and his friends and the woman formed a close friendship with the wife of one of these men and eventually with other women who supported James' side. At first the couple was unaware that their choice of friends was limited to people who were allied with James. However, as interaction increased they often heard negative comments about Lilly and her activities.

By midyear James' group frequently commented to the teaching couple regarding the head teacher, "How's your buddy living down there in that place? Must be something wrong with him; he never comes out." It was difficult for the teachers not to agree since his lack of visiting began to extend to them as well. It appeared to the couple that the more they interacted with villagers, the less the head teacher interacted with either them or villagers.

At this time an incident occurred which destroyed any illusion of "neutrality" the head teacher had established by purchasing at both stores. He was confronted by the clerk of the co-op store, a member of James' faction, with the fact that they had not received payment for supplies purchased for school use a month earlier. He replied that he had received no bill from the store for these items and therefore could not submit it to the central administration for payment. An argument ensued concerning the submission of the bill and the head teacher left the store vowing "never to go in that goddamn store again!" Thereafter he purchased his food exclusively from Lilly's store.

The head teacher was quite authoritarian in the classroom and his interactions with students were viewed by both students and many parents negatively as this manner was inconsistent with typical village child-rearing patterns. The teaching couple often heard comments about him: "He's too mean. All he does is make us work. We don't like him. He never smiles." Juxtaposing this, Lilly revealed that she thought the head teacher was "doing a good job in the school and community. He knows how to run a school here. Some of the other teachers we've had didn't. I even wrote letters in about them and we got rid of them."

By this time none of the teachers were seen as neutral: the head teacher on Lilly's side and the teaching couple aligned with James' side. This apparently had an effect on their relationship with each other, for minor conflicts over operation of the school and philosophy of teaching drove them further apart. The couple then interacted even more frequently with the members of James' side.

In March members of James' group asked the teaching couple whether they would remain for the next year. They replied they would but they did not know about the head teacher. After the last school board meeting of the year in May one of the other teachers overheard part of a conversation between the chairman of the school board and the head teacher. The chairman was critical of the head teacher's actions. Finally the head teacher asked: "I suppose you don't want me to come back to the village next year?" The chairman, an important member of James' faction, replied, "Yeah, I guess that's right. We don't want you to come back." Subsequently the head teacher requested and received a transfer to another school.

Discussion

A knowledge of factions and factional activity may be crucial to the acceptance of the intercultural worker in Alaskan villages. Because he comes from a society in which close observation and interaction does not normally occur he is often ill-prepared to deal with the political intricacies of village life. Factionalism appears to be quite common in Alaskan Bush villages and perhaps elsewhere. According to Pelto, "No communities are without some kind of important social groups, even though their presence and operations may in certain cases be difficult to delineate." (1970:251). Further, and perhaps more importantly, Saberwal states,

> Every community has its difficult individuals and even the most sympathetic friends sometimes interpret one's actions in ways other than one can anticipate. Errors are often compounded, without one's knowing what is happening. These situations call for calm analysis. One must think through the rights and wrongs of the various actors involved, the sanctions available to each, the probability that these might be applied, and the extent of damage that could ensue. Sensitivity to others' discomfort is essential, though sometimes difficult to achieve in a cultural context one understands only partially. (1969:57).

Pelto has rightly pointed out that because there are great differences among communities and the personalities of intercultural workers vary greatly, it is impossible to prescribe the social management side of fieldwork (1970:225). On the other hand, greater awareness of elements which will be confronted needs to be developed. These elements generally fall into the areas of role behavior and sensitivity to the local political scene.

With regard to village factional activity, there appear to be at least five general categories to which the intercultural worker might address himself: the cultural history of villagers, including village-white interaction; expectations of villagers for outsiders' behavior; the question of neutrality; the normal course of factional activity; and involvement of non-resident bureaucrats in factional disputes.

What is the Cultural History of the Region?

If the teachers who entered the village of Dolbi had known, for example, information presented at the beginning of this paper, their attention might have been drawn to related elements still existing in the village, e.g., the existence of two factions.

Through discussions with villagers and others, one can get an idea of how villagers have related to their predecessors. In addition to becoming acquainted and providing a topic for conversation with villagers, the teacher can learn how long teachers stayed, why they left, and what villagers currently think about them. For other intercultural workers whose roles have no precedent, greater flexibility may be allowed, but it is still important to learn how other outsiders have been involved in the village. In this study 3 of 11 teachers left as a result of factional pressure. All the others became involved in factional politics and, largely because they allied with the stronger side, they had the option to stay. The other side, however, did have recourse and may have been influential in the movement of at least three other teachers.

What Role Expectations do Villagers hold for the Intercultural Worker?

Villagers have different concepts of a *good* teacher than the image most teachers carry with them. To villagers a good teacher is one who not only does the ***right things*** in the classroom, but more importantly he does the ***right things*** apart from the school. Wintrob states: "The ease with which the fieldworker develops rapport is largely determined by the role image he creates in the minds of his informants and the community as a whole." (1969:69). The teacher shows that he is interested in village affairs and villagers themselves by participating as they do. If he does not develop positive relationships with at least some of the people, when he makes mistakes he will have developed no positive credit and thus he will probably be viewed negatively. Further cultural errors will prompt action to either socialize him, or, as in two cases described, through the vehicle of factionalism, get rid of him. As Saberwal states:

> Upon entering the field situation as a stranger, one has to develop a complex and extensive network of social relations rapidly. To maintain these relations in good repair requires a wide range of interpersonal sensitivity and response capacity. A fund of human sympathy is useful. It is also necessary to translate this sympathy into acts which your neighbors will recognize to be acts of good will. It takes some trial and error, but given the intent, one can usually find the form. (1969:56).

Village people seem to have a sixth sense about judging the intent of an outsider. They may not understand his words, but they observe his actions, and if they judge him to be acting inappropriately they will attempt to socialize him. Considerable role flexibility is given at first, but resistance to socializing efforts will ultimately bring about reprisals in the form of rejection.

As the only white man living in a village and one who is responsible for the formal education of the children, the teacher is placed in a role of much greater importance than he often realizes. Attempting to deal with people he does not know presents an extremely complex task, especially when he realizes that what he says may be used as political ammunition against himself or the other side. Because of his importance each faction sees it is to their advantage to have the teacher (or other outsider) on its side and considerable effort may be made to recruit him. Such efforts may be in the form of favors done for the teacher, taking him on hunting and fishing trips, visiting over coffee, giving him gifts of meat or local crafts, and other activities. Their intent is to draw him into the village mutual aids and obligations system and, more specifically, to align him with their group.

Further complicating the issue is the question: what is appropriate role performance? According to George Foster (1969:124) this is something that can only be measured in relation to other people. Where factions exist appropriate performance may depend upon the individual one asks, or as in several instances described, how each faction or factional leader views the actions. If one side thinks it's good, the other may reject it simply on those grounds.

Is Neutrality Possible?

Although political non-involvement of a type advocated by one teacher described may be a viable alternative in an urban school setting, it is not in a bush community. The teacher is simply too important an addition to the village political scene to remain uninvolved. Further, many of the decisions he makes are political in nature. For example, when the head teacher asked one person to qualify his bid, his actions were perceived by the other side as helping the faction that person represented. His argument with the manager of the co-op store was another act viewed by people on that side as a rejection of them. His *neutrality* was such that neither group viewed him as neutral.

Normally teachers feel that if they "do their job in the classroom" other relationships will take care of themselves. Somehow they will be able to *rise above* village affairs. In light of the previous example, this is not possible. Typically, white people and especially teachers like to make their positions on issues known, yet in village affairs it may be best for them to remain silent on many issues. Ultimately, however, the teacher will make some decisions — overt or covert, school-related or not — which will ally him with one group or the other. The longer he stays the greater is the likelihood of this happening.

What is the Course of Factional Activity?

Returning to Nicholas' description of factions (1965:27-29): Factions are recruited by leaders who use diverse principles to persuade their followers. James and Lilly recruited their followers on the basis of kinship, issue, personality, and economics. Recruiting was informal, as was the group itself. Factions are politically conflicting groups, not corporate groups. Once the issue of conflict had surfaced both sides worked to enlarge their following and to win their point. Factional battling occurred concerning the movement of at least three teachers. It was at this stage the involved bureaucracy was brought in to settle the issue which they did by transferring the teachers. Thus the winning faction realized its goal and both sides recognized that their actions carried weight.

How May Non-Resident Bureaucrats be Drawn into Factional Disputes?

Discussions with bureaucrats reveal that when they receive communications from villagers they are placed in a difficult position for many of them recognize that the letters may represent only one point of view. Further, if they act immediately as that group desires, they may be seen as an ally of that village faction, which is the intent of the letter. The problem becomes compounded when the other side also

writes letters criticizing action taken and asking support for their views. Many bureaucrats wisely do as little as possible until they can gain more information. Occasionally, they withdraw entirely, leaving villagers to work out their own solution.

However, when the success of the bureaucratic mission in the village seems jeopardized, a more immediate solution is sought. An administrator travels to the village and attempts to gather more information before making a decision. The factional leaders then attempt to "fill the ear" of the administrator, substantiating their cases and giving him much information that may not be related to the issue. At this point teachers often become very defensive concerning their actions and in many cases will disagree with administrative decisions. However, regardless of the fact that there are two sides to the issue, because of the agitation, teacher transfer is usually recommended as the solution (Cline 1972:14-15).

In the final analysis it is curious to note that in rural Alaska much talk revolves about giving advisory school boards power to make important decisions concerning their schools and teachers. If the case above may serve as an example, the community, through its factions and its advisory board, already *has* the power; they simply do not exercise it with the same process outsiders might expect. As Foster states:

> Client peoples, then, have enormous powers over the professionals who work with them, even though usually they don't appreciate this fact. They have the power to *grant* or to *withhold* the evidence of ability which is so important to the professional. He, in most instances, also does not fully appreciate this psychological element in his relationship to members of the client group, although subconsciously at least he senses it (1969:124).

Contrary to the opinion of these who feel their effects, village factions may in fact create a positive influence, for they serve as a political mechanism to make known the wishes of a group of people. Further, it may be that factional disputes will diminish as this mechanism gives way to other more formal means of local decision making.

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A CLASSROOM IS NOT A FISH CAMP

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The concern of this paper is the training of Native teachers and the adaptation of Native learning processes to the classroom. This writing comes out of research and speculation as to why education for Native Americans has largely failed.

The circumstances mentioned are drawn from a small sample of observations in Alaska and on the Navajo reservation. There are numberless American Indian teachers I have never met. The backgrounds of Indian personalities are very diverse and modify any observations I have to make. But probably this diversity does not radically alter the challenge facing Native American education — the multiple problems of teaching skills, content, and goals for learning.

Let's examine what Native teachers bring to a classroom. Regardless of expertise, their presence in the classroom quiets the stress and increases the confidence of Indian children. Even when they emulate White teachers, their roles are acceptable and offer an image of Indian accomplishment that in itself can make education more realistic for many children. But this human accomplishment may not be enough to adequately meet the needs of Native students.

The challenge of Indian education is that we generally agree on why it has failed, but remain confused on its practical solution. Its failure is in the destructive impact of white education on Native children. This culture shock appears to divide children from self and it degrades children's most formative years of environment and family. But even more threateningly, it can distract and destroy cognition. The effect of this "jangling" is sluggish thinking, lowered achievement in school and later in adult life. This disfigurement has been seen for many years and has obscured further causes of failure which may impede the educational emergence of many Native peoples. One of the major concerns has been the reality that problems do not automatically disappear when the schools are run by Indian people themselves.

Many observers, both Indian and White, feel that removing the White teacher from the school and allowing Native culture to dominate the curriculum will solve many of the basic faults of Indian education. What could defeat such ideal means?

Any development must take place amid the history of Indian personality and acculturation, as well as his survival needs in modern life. Today, we should look critically at this part of the process. Acculturation is largely the history of White education for Indians. We meet the Indian student for the first time as a prisoner of war in a militarily administered school. Next we see him as the object of salvation — of Christian missionaries who further assaulted the Indian self. White idealists underestimated the effect of negative acculturation, which is the fundamental core of failure of Indian development.

It is enlightening that the character of failure was recognized and acted upon as far back as the 1930's, in the Roosevelt years. Rudimentary blocks that are so obvious now were recognized by reformers in the BIA then. Emphasis was shifted from boarding school education to Day Schools in Indian communities. Curriculum readers were published in several Indian languages. Schools were designed as community centers where Elders were invited to be resources in the classroom. But for various political reasons, these programs were not sustained and the dilemma of Indian education remained. In the 1950's the situation was so shocking that the Bureau of Indian Affairs hired Robert Havinghurst to make a sweeping national survey of Indian education. In 1968, the U.S. Office of Education hired Havinghurst to make a *second* national survey of even greater depth of the education of

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Indian children wherever they were in school, on or off the reservations. But the second report was in many ways the same as the first — fifteen years later, Indian children were still failing to get an adequate education no matter where they were in schools. The significant difference between these two evaluations, spanning fifteen years of effort was that the first survey was generally directed toward White teachers of Indian children whereas the recommendations of the second study were directed also to Indians teaching Indians.

Despite political vacillations and educational ineptitudes, there has been an increasing Indian emergence since the New Deal for the American Indian nearly 40 years ago. There have been revolutionary developments in Indian sophistication and expertise. The experience of the Second World War gave many Indians a world view as well as further training in technologies. The GI Bill of Rights placed Indians in trade schools and universities in fields of law, administration, and anthropology. Other minority groups, the Mexican-Americans, Afro-Americans, and Oriental-Americans have also demanded recognition and opportunity and their militancy has given further support to the Indians' demand for a separate American identity.

Some Indian communities have taken on the education of their own children. The Teacher Corps in Alaska has the first program of putting credentialed Native teachers in the tundra and forest schools. Will these joint developments solve the problem? Certainly they will ease the hardship, but with equal importance they make real for the first time the actuality of Indian teachers in the classroom as a practical undertaking.

After five years of research of Eskimo and now Navajo education, the failure of Native American schooling seems more serious than it ever was. It seems no longer just an Indian problem, but an experience affecting all minority people who are dominated by White power. As the cold war turns into battle, I see this conflict increasing. I see White power, that I call education, interfering in Native welfare everywhere: bombs destroying villages in Indo-China, White education destroying Eskimo villages in Alaska by moving these hunter-fishing people into the concentration of city slums in Anchorage and Seattle. In the same way, education is also destroying Spanish-American villages of New Mexico. Always the White rationale is the same — economic reality, productivity and progress — the philosophy never changes. I see White education leveling smaller cultures, leaving Native peoples in a retarded vacuum, and lowering the working intelligence of the colonialized world. Outwardly this is accomplished by economic and political exploitation, but inwardly it is the colonialization of the Native mind.

As an anthropologist, I am beginning to see American Indian schooling not as education, but as a process of either negative or positive acculturation. We should ask, "What could be a positive development of acculturation?" Not assimilation nor an idealistic return to *The Old Ways*, but certainly a retaining of a special identity and a vitality of personality in the ever-changing process of world development. When the question is asked, "Why have Native education or Native American studies?" we are also asking, "Why be unique? Why be an individual? What is the contribution to self and society in retaining difference?"

White educators of Indians might not share the same *roads* or the same goals as Native teachers or Indian community school boards. We may both be coming from different directions. Frequently, the ideal educator and the anthropologist see the need to preserve and strengthen through education what we feel *we* have lost in the cultural privations of modern life. But Indians can see education as a means to gain something they have never had.

Realistically, reservations no longer sustain the Indian, and like other ethnic minorities, they are coming to the cities for employment. They are not demanding just equal education, but equal roles and an equal future. For survival, Indian communities, both rural and urban, now require a genuine role in political life and a sophisticated knowledge about living in the White world. Do we dodge this reality of

education by giving control of the school to the communities and Native teachers? This is a power *transfer of great significance, but it does not in itself insure these insights.*

Can Native community teachers accomplish what White teachers fail to do in their schools — teaching for emotional and economic survival in the technological society? I find Indian community leaders as divided as to what Indian children should learn as many White specialists. We created the problem and therefore should help master its solution. For this reason, I feel we are committed to sharing in the solutions of this mutual dilemma. I see Indian education as an Indian/White collaboration to meet the needs of a multi-cultural world.

What can Indians do at this late hour to help themselves educationally and how should we help in this self-determination? It would not be unreasonable to find that ancient cultures do not have the traditions necessary for dealing with the complexity of our technological culture and all the problems it has created. It would clarify to consider what Indian or Eskimo teachers have to offer traditionally in training for survival in the indigenous world, and today in the modern environment. What is the genius of Indian awareness and sensibility? How was the genius learned? The question asks, what is a Native school? But first, what is education for peoples in a whole and functioning environment?

I believe that the growing child learns consistently through the life process. Schools as practical centers for life education seem very recent. In the near and far past, formal learning institutions have done for students just about everything, but give them sound survival expertise. Schools have been esoteric. The formalized Native bush schools of Africa described by Mark Hanna Watkins[1] were more concerned with mastering roles and mystique than with practical learning. The early European school fundamentally taught Greek and Latin, two already dead languages. The early American school, beyond mastering rudimentary literacy, studied one book, the Bible, and learning to read was therefore also mastering a moral code.

Possibly among the Native American models of the functional school, was the Eskimo *kashgee* (Men's House) — like the longhouse of the Indians of the Northwest Coast. Here boys gathered with men, watched and mastered skills, and listened to the wisdom of the group. Maybe here we could find the Native teacher and the relevant curriculum of education we are seeking. But the *kashgees* were destroyed by the missionaries, so where are these teachers today?

In Alaska, we could find them in the summer fish camps and on the Navajo in the isolated sheep camps, provided of course, ecological opportunities still existed. One challenge of promoting Native teachers is transferring both the learning circumstances and instructive wisdom into the contrivance of contemporary schools. Schools now are dominated by the White linear processes which deal with future economic success goals. The teacher from the fish camp might be inadequate in these schools unless the goals and processes are radically changed to include and give equal value to his unique wisdom and fulfillments. What is known briefly about Indian education in the undisturbed Native circumstance suggests where the Native teacher is coming from and what he might need in order to teach in a school. In the bush, where survival is mastered, "experience is the best teacher" describes the style of learning of many Indian groups. The classroom was the forest, seacoast or desert. The curriculum was the process that carried learning to conclusion and corrected the faults of the apprentice. How did the Native teacher transfer this wisdom? Did he lecture, draw diagrams, make getting the sheep out to graze an imaginative game to lure the student into the lesson? The informational procedure was probably terse in verbal explanation and highly non-verbal in demonstration. With hungry sheep bleating in the corral, motivation was spontaneous and self-fulfilling in the common goals for survival. ***Sheep are the full relevancy of life.*** The grazing becomes the learning process and the sheep become the teachers that lead the learner through complex circumstances of decision, concentration and perseverance.

[1] *Education & Culture*, George Spindler

During stock reduction to curb soil erosion on the Navajo, women would rise in the council hall and ask the White engineers, "Who will educate our children if you take away the sheep?" In effect they were saying, if you destroy our cultural process, the children will have no education.

Today many Navajos do not have sheep, but they do have pick-up trucks, and some of this learning process has shifted to maintaining trucks. This has retained some of the native style of learning of Navajos.

A White doctor knew a Navajo woman who could fix cars expertly. The doctor asked his acquaintance, "Are you teaching your kids to fix cars?" "Yes, I teach them." "How are you doing this?" "Well, it's like this ... Johnny, you see that is a car. Now you climb under and lay there until you see how it works. When you figure out how it works, you can fix it. Now get under that car'. Yes, I'm teaching them." The strength and success of this education were the goals of confidence and ingenuity.[2] Indian children, as maybe all children growing up in nature, are trained pragmatically to solve problems independently. Life survival unquestionably often hangs on this ability.

As an example, there was an Indian youth who was going deer hunting and he laid out his plans to his father and elders. They agreed it was good he was going deer hunting, but they offered him no particular advice. "I told my folks I was going to ride to a river, cross it, and hunt deer in the hills on the other side where I knew there would be game. My daddy never told me I couldn't get across that river. You know, I'm really grateful my daddy let me find this out for myself. I am so glad they never told me what to do." The river was the lesson, and no doubt a great deal was learned in meeting this challenge that never could have been given by direct advice.[3]

Today Navajo and Eskimo processes have deteriorated. The learning environment for the child is no longer as enriched as it was a generation ago. Have Navajo adults, therefore changed their style of educating their children? Or are Navajo children in need of a new set of processes for learning, along with a new style of teacher? And what about a center like the ***kashgee*** or longhouse? This center could be the community school, but would it have the self-fulfilling curriculum of the traditional fish camp? It may have none of these experiences unless contrived by the Native teacher. This, of course, could happen. This ability to create a learning atmosphere could be *learned* as well as re-expressed from the wealth of Indian/Eskimo culture.

Resources and styles are not the same group to group. There could be a great difference between Athabaskan Indians and Alaskan Eskimos. In tradition, Eskimos are masters of contrivance; drama and mime historically were a major community recreation. On film, a pair of minimally trained Eskimo women teachers appeared very projective with small children, much more so than teachers of Athabaskan descent observed on the Navajo.

So far I have been considering, primarily, process learning for practical survival and have neglected the teaching of mystique and philosophies. Among the Navajo, this cultural content of creation myth and life way are not learned in the practical process. Mythology must be taught in a formal way by a teacher who is an authority. Amid all Indian groups, these teachers are the story-tellers who instruct in the perfect knowledge of "The People." John Adair and Sol Worth's experience with Navajo-made narrative film revealed that story-telling — the recitation of myths — significantly affects the ordering and process of thought. Could this programming be brought into the learning resources of the classroom? But again, culture raises unseen obstacles. Story-tellers are the wise, the elders of the group. Could young men and women borrow the processes of story-telling for their students? Or would there be a cultural taboo or psychological inhibition for young people to assume this role in a classroom setting? Could this be another area of creativity that needs to be explored for Native teachers in the classroom?

[2] Personal Communication — Dr. Robert Bergman.

[3] Personal Communication — Dr. Robert Bergman.

In our own schools for teachers, adults are trained to play with children and make objects of art like a child. This may sound artificial, but even in our own flexible styles, moving from real life to the classroom is a challenge. Contrivances with which to teach make up much teacher training experience. Many of these methodological contrivances appear vacuous simply because they lack *reason*. Yet the *need* reflects awareness of the disintegration of life-process education for White children.

We see both White and Indian children in deprivation as they become further separated from life experiences that fundamentally educate. What can a child learn in suburbia where he is needed in no life process? So he grows up in contrivance through Little League to Junior High and continues his life in a man-manufactured reality of TV and Disneyland. Adults are professionally trained and paid to make experience *real* for children so they will "turn on" and learn.

The development so needed is the transfer of Native teaching from the sheep camp to the classroom by developing the skills to make learning in the classroom as relevant and supportive of the life processes as they were in the sheep camp. This contrivance can be difficult for Indian adults. Dr. Robert Bergman, Psychiatrist for American Indian mental health, carried through an experiment in making a BIA dormitory like a Navajo home in an effort to raise the scholastic performance of the Navajo students. Indian parents were hired to come to the dormitories in the evening to "play" or interact with their children as they would in their homes. This proved nearly impossible. First, the supportive home processes were absent, and therefore, the circumstances had to be contrived. Further, Navajo parents complained that a dormitory was not a place to play, like a home. Historically, BIA dormitories have been run on military-school order and most of the Navajo parents had experienced BIA boarding schools. Literally, they had to be educated into playing with their own children in the contrivance of a "home" in a BIA hygenically-ordered dormitory.

This circumstance relates realistically to the training of Navajo school aides in a teacher credential program. They must make the same transfer as the dormitory sides to the creative experience of the schoolroom. The children may just sit still until these Navajo aides fill the room with an environment for learning. The terse instructional style of the sheep camp, when transferred to the classroom, can fail to achieve a synchronized process of learning. Coordinated learning is a tangible relationship that reads on film as flowing movement and gesture, as compared to distracted and static classroom behavior of physical isolation, yawns, and expressions of stress. Learning in the fish and sheep camps moves with a self-fulfilling motivation of tasks which must be accomplished for survival of everyone. In the uncontrived or unmotivated classroom, the only pragmatic survival is learning to please the teacher.[4] Hence, the imaginative process of the teacher is to make learning in the classroom as real as watering sheep at the windmill. This does not spontaneously happen when the Native teacher enters the classroom. As an example in one circumstance, when the White teacher left the room for the day, the Indian aide restructured the classroom from an open process to one of regemented learning. Navajo aides often choose a structured style, and Navajo parents often find the regemented school more desirable than the White concept of a *Free* school.

This conservatism may seem bewildering, for the most bitter critics of regemented BIA education are the Indians themselves. Historically, the government kidnapped children into White education, held them in school by force, and separated them from culture, language and family for as long as eight years. With this history of hostility, why should Native teachers follow the most oppressive style of White education?

[4] King, *The School at Mopass*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

I believe there are at least two reasons for this circumstance. As stated, Indians have no traditions of formal schools and their only standard of educational excellence is the traditional classroom where they learned. Further, Indian systems, like most ancient cultures, were and still are held together with protocol and formality. Generalized permissiveness, therefore, is not an Indian trait except in their concepts of time and schedule, and even this sense of time is held together by the inflexibility of nature herself. The orderly controls of ecology are often invisible to White eyes, and therefore, Indian style can appear permissive to technologically oriented modern men. Among the Eskimos, the surrounding life involvement is so threatening that Eskimo fathers seem not to worry about disciplining their children. Children are there to love and enjoy. Environment itself will teach them the way and the endurance to survive. But when Eskimos relocate to Oakland, California, nature is no longer there and permissiveness does bring confusion in child development.

In spite of the conservatism of Indian culture, White men do see the Indian — as did D.H. Lawrence and my father, John Collier — as free men, alert to his psyche, uniquely intelligent, and in balance with self. How can Indians develop this stature with such a conservative world view? The perfection and formality of Indian cultures actually provided the security that made freedom of self possible. The harmony of the group allowed men to live fully in often harsh ecologies. Conservatism of the cultures offered the "right way" to master threatening situations of drought, roving predators, drifting ice cakes and threatening seas. Survivalism is a conservative undertaking, with very restrictive protocol and severe punishment for failure; but this rigidity took place in nature where men *could* find harmony and recognition of self. Hunter people had to live in small groups, and often were forced to meet serious crises alone. It was in these circumstances that master of Indian self came. But this ecological matrix of Indian personality has mostly gone or been re-established in a modern framework. As one example, Hopis still farm, but no longer for essential subsistence. Farming has become a ceremonial function of renewal in an otherwise wage-earning economy.[5] This acculturated adjustment suggests the *style* and the *message* of how Indian education can prepare its children for the contemporary world.

Culture is a lingering value, and even in the face of change, Native teachers who set up a rigid, apparently White structure, may be trying to preserve a classical Indian form of becoming by adopting some of the most traditionally conservative elements of White education, we now consider oppressive.

A major realism in developing a Native teacher program is to recognize that removing the White teacher does not necessarily remove "Whiteness" from the classroom. Cultural conservatism of Indian personality and distortive White education of the Indian teacher make innovation in the classroom very difficult. Underneath the teacher's enthusiasm for Indian determination may reasonably lie a foundation of White morality, methods and learning goals which muddy the sensitivity of Native educators. Missionary education and BIA boarding school experience have deeply affected the reasoning of Indians, and this miseducation can make the Native teacher appear as oppressive as the White.

Quite unconsciously the Native teacher can be the very result — and therefore the perpetuator — of the negative process she or he is hired to correct. How can programs of teacher training alter this default? How can Native teachers gain the introspection and orientation that could free their sensitivities? Can White instructors of Native teachers restore the integrity that Whiteness has destroyed? If not, can Indian teachers bring about this recovery themselves?

In part, I see teacher training as "de-schooling" as well as "additive" education in human development. I also see much orientation going to appreciating both the positive and negative realism of American society so that teachers can give Indian children a dynamic training in both acculturation and reasons for retaining Indian self and Indian society. Indian children are in school to learn to make cultural

[5] Personal communication from John Connelly.

choices — what to buy and what to reject of the American plenty. Indian survival in the modern world will wholly depend on this sophistication.

Culturally different children first and finally deserve an equal opportunity in education — this is their door to an open society. Educational opportunity should offer all children a chance to use their particular intelligence for learning and problem-solving. This requires schools to be amenable to different programs of language and cultural styles. Educational goals must be diverse in order to fit 'the good life' of many peoples. The goals should surely include effectiveness, personality integrity, and gratification. At this late hour in a universal world, we see culturally different peoples everywhere solving shared problems with similar tools even when the end goals of life are very contrasting. The goals of acculturation for Indians and any of us are to find a hospitable place in the modern scheme. We find this achievement cannot take place without a renewing and productive personality which comes for most of us within a special identity and system of fulfillment.

There is only loss in educating a child out of its cultural self-intelligence; effectiveness and creativity are lost to the child and to the world which needs his excellence.

The Eskimo Language Workshop

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The Eskimo Language Workshop has been involved in teacher-training and preparation of educational materials in Yup'ik for schools participating in the Bilingual Education Program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Alaska State Operated Schools System. These schools are all located in southwestern Alaska in villages where most children enter school with Eskimo as their dominant language. Currently four schools are in their third year of operation in bilingual education: Akiachak, Nunapitchuk, Napakiak and Bethel. Schools in their second year of operation are Aleknagik, Kasigluk, Kipnuk, Kongiganak, Manokotak, Quinhagak, Togiak, Tuntutuliak, and Twin Hills, and schools in their first year are Ekwok, Portage Creek, Koliganek, and New Stuyahok. This makes a total of 17 schools currently involved in Yup'ik bilingual education. The Workshop is trying to develop materials for all major parts of the elementary curriculum in the language indigenous to this area.

Materials published so far consist of books to be read to children, a set of early readers (vocabulary controlled pre-primers, primers, first readers, etc.) and other simple stories the children will be able to read themselves within a short time after elementary training. Included in the collection are original stories by members of the Workshop or the bilingual teachers, traditional Eskimo stories, and translations and adaptations of a selection of "Western" stories such as ***Peter Rabbit*** or ***Thumbelina*** (traditional) or ***Are You My Mother?*** or ***The Things I Like*** (contemporary). Our Yup'ik version of ***Peter and the Wolf*** has recently been video taped with the narrator being accompanied by the University Symphony Orchestra. In addition, the Workshop has produced an elementary science series dealing with: The Earth, The Universe, Living Things (plants and animals), Matter and Energy, and The Senses of the Human Body. A variety of worksheets have been produced for language arts, science, mathematics and social studies. A good deal of this material produced by the Workshop is generated from the daily materials developed by teachers in the bilingual classrooms. These are sent periodically to the Workshop where they are edited, revised, and reproduced for use in all of the schools participating in the program.

A dictionary project is nearing completion which includes at least 5000 items which we hope to publish as a two-volume English-Eskimo, Eskimo-English dictionary. A post-base section now is being developed (approximately 500 items) for that dictionary.

A large body of taped recordings have been transcribed (well over 1000 pages) and are waiting to be edited for use in the schools. Several experimental television productions are now making their rounds in the schools, showing examples of traditional story-telling, puppet productions for language arts, and other creative educational programs for children (all in Yup'ik). The Workshop has also provided the English Language component of the program a large set of illustrations which have been produced in color whenever required by the ESL program. Finally, we have compiled much of the testing material in Yup'ik for the evaluation component of the bilingual program.

The Eskimo Language Workshop has also played an active role in the training of Yup'ik teachers. The training sessions usually take place during the summer months and are done in cooperation with representatives from other agencies such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs, State-Operated Schools, or the University of Alaska itself (i.e., the Education Department or the Alaska Rural Schools Project). The

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chief responsibility of the Workshop in these sessions is to provide the needed literacy training, and concern itself with methods and materials in Eskimo language teaching, while the education experts from various agencies conduct the teacher-training sessions in English. To date, 48 teachers have been trained specifically for the bilingual program, and of these, 40 are currently teaching in the schools, two are currently employed by the Workshop while they continue their education at the University, two are teaching Yup'ik at the college level (one at Kuskokwim Community College and the other at Alaska Methodist University), and three have dropped out of the program (one to get married, and two were removed because of incompetence). And, one of our teachers was lost in a tragic snow machine accident.

The current staff of the Workshop consists of a director (who also teaches regular academic courses on campus), and five full-time writers, artists, and technical and secretarial assistants. Much use is made of part-time help, particularly students who are planning to involve themselves in bilingual education. There are 13 part-time employees making a total of 18 members on the staff.

So far the response to the Workshop's materials — from students and their parents and the teachers — has been quite good. To date, the Workshop has produced over 70 books, and about 50 of these are in their final form having undergone thorough testing in the schools. There are several items, approximately 30, in various stages of development, some waiting for illustrations, or simply waiting to be printed. A major undertaking of the Workshop now is to produce good teacher's manuals to accompany the books produced so far. And there is always the need for more books for the schools. In fact, the major difficulty the Workshop faces is to keep up with the demand for materials of all kinds.

YUPIK BILINGUAL MATERIALS
ESKIMO LANGUAGE WORKSHOP
University of Alaska
Fairbanks

Graded Readers

Nuk'aq (boy's name) by Martha Teeluk and Marie Blanchett, preprimer 1, ill. by Afcan and Chikoyak, 13 pp.

Caliluta Aquiluta-llu (We Work and We Play) by Marie N. Blanchett and Martha Teeluk, ill. by Paschal Afcan, 20 pp.

Nuk'aq Ilai-llu (Nuk'aq and His Family) by Marie Blanchett and Martha Teeluk, ill. Paschall Afcan, 21 pp.

Naaqiyugngaunga (I Can Read) by Martha Teeluk, Marie Blanchett, ill. Geri Keim, 57 pp.

Naaqiyugngaunga Cah (I Can Read Some More) by Martha Teeluk, ill. Geri Keim and George Smart, 66 pp.

Supplementary Readers:

Ilanka (My Family) by Martha Teeluk, ill. by Dorothy Napolean, 23 pp.

Kuk'uq (Little Dog) by Martha Teeluk, ill. Geri Keim, 13 pp.

Nuk'ankut (Nuk'aq's Family) by Martha Teeluk, ill. A. Chikoyak, 22 pp.

Upsankut (Upsaq and his Family) by Pachall Afcan, ill. Pachall Afcan, 17 pp.

Cacirkat (Things to Do) authored by Workshop staff, ill. Geri Keim, 22 pp.

Wanuwa Cing'aq (Here's Jack) translated into Yupik by Marie Nick, ill. adapted by Geri Keim, 24 pp.

Acuyalriit (The Berrypickers) by Mary Ann Lomack, ill. Ida Jacomet, 18 pp.

Angalgaam Qimugtai (Pat's Dogs) by Pachall Afcan, ill. Afcan, 25 pp.

Iqmik, Iingaq, Pamyaq-llu (Smiffy, Eye-Patch, and Tail) a sequel to *Angalgaam Qimugtail* by Pachal Afcan, ill. by Afcan, 44 pp.

Language Arts Material:

Wangnek Tamalkurma (All About Me) translated and adapted by Joseph Coolidge and Marie Nick, ill. by John Breiby, 59 pp.

Qanerqarat Ayagnerita Nepait (The Sounds that Begin Words) by Pachal Afcan and Irene Reed, ill. by Diane Dart, 68 pp.

Igaryaraq I (A series of about 200 worksheets for language arts) generated by the Workshop staff from materials developed in the bilingual schools.

Igaryaraq II by Joseph Coolidge, ill. Rick Peck.

Mathematics:

Naaqutet (Numbers) picture of numbers from 1—10, ill. Geri Keim, 31 pp.

Naaquteliuryarat Caliarkait (Mathematics Worksheets) generated by Workshop staff from materials developed in bilingual schools, ill. Geri Keim, 100 pp.

Science Series:

Cat Anerteqellriit: Ungwalriit Naunraat-llu (Living Things: Plants and Animals) by Paschal Afcan and Irene Reed, ill. Geri Keim, 39 pp.

Nunarpak (The Earth by Pachal Afcan and Irene Reed, ill. Geri Keim, 48 pp.

Caucian Piniun-llu (Matter and Energy) by Paschal Afcan and Irene Reed, ill. by Geri Keim, 40 pp.

Ella Iquilnguq (The Universe) by Paschal Afcan and Irene Reed, ill. Geri Keim, 36 pp.

Yuum Temiin Elpeksuutai (The Senses of the Human Body) by Paschal Afcan and Irene Reed, ill. Geri Keim, 28 pp.

Original Stories or Traditional Tales:

Amirlucuar (Little Cloud) by Paschal Afcan, ill. Geri Keim, 24 pp.

Cikemyaq (Blinky) by Paschal Afcan, ill. Andrew Chikoyak, 28 pp.

Qukiraq Angnilngurmek Kaviayaarmek (The Sad Little Fox) by Geri Keim, ill. Geri Keim, Translated by Manutoli, 21 pp.

Napam Cuyaa (Tree-Leaf) by Paschal Afcan, ill. Howard Hofseth, 13 pp.

Neqa Piitam Pitaqesciigatellra (The Fish that Pete Could Not Catch) translated from English version produced by Mekoryuk students by Marie Blanchett, Mekoruk illustrations retained and copied, 61 pp.

Qunguturaq Naruyayagaq (The Little Pet Seagull) by Afcan, Angaiak, Teeluk, and Reed, ill. by John Angaiak, 29 pp.

Qanemciciuaraak Angalgaam (Two Short Stories by Pat) by Paschal Afcan, ill. by Geri Keim, 21 pp.

Qanganaq Meqsartulria (A Squirrell Going for Water) by Moses Neck, ill. Diane Dart, 20 pp.

Qessanquq Avelngaq (The Lazy Mouse) by Elsie Mather, ill. Andrew Chikoyak, 18 pp.

Uqumyaq (Pesky Little Mouse) by Paschal Afcan, ill. Andrew Chikoyak, 15 pp.

Egacuayiit Kenurraita Tanqiit (The Twinkle of the Little Spirits Lights) by Paschal Afcan, ill. Geri Keim, 34 pp.

Uqsuqaq Mecaq'amek At'lek (A Mallard Named "Splash") by Marie Blanchett, ill. by Moses Chanar.

Cetugpak (Long Nails) traditional tale written by Marie Nick Blanchett, ill. Andrew Chikoyak, 22 pp.

Kaviarem Kavirillra (How the Fox Turned Red) by Martha Teeluk, ill. Edward Hofseth, 24 pp.

Qangqiirenkuk Iggiayauli-llu (The Ptarmigan and the Owl) by Mary Toyukak, ill. Diane Dart, 10 pp.

Qangqiiq, Tulukaruk, Angyayagaq-llu (The Ptarmigan, the Crow, and the Shrew) by Martha Teeluk, ill. Diane Dart, 14 pp.

Tukutukuaralf'er (The Old Common Snipe) by Anna Rose Jose, Transcribed by Paschal Afcan, ill. Andrew Chikoyak, 22 pp.

Uugnar Ayalleq (The Mouse That Went) by Annie Andrew, ill. Moses Chanar, 20 pp.

Qugyuqcullrem Kanaqlangellra (How Qugyuqcull'eq Got Muskrats) by Moxie Andrew, ill. Moses Chanar, 12 pp.

Ciutiim Qavangua (Ciutiq's Dream) by Helen Andrew Nicori, ill. Moses Chanar, 18 pp.

Tan'gurraq Uwituli Nayagani-llu (The Wise Boy and His Younger Sister) by Elsie Carl, ill. Moses Chanar, 11 pp.

Taqukaq Qanganaq-llu (The Bear and The Squirrel) by John Breiby, translated by Paschal Afcan and Marie Nick Blanchett, ill. John Breiby, 50 pp.

Angnilria Asriq Issuriyagaq (The Bear and The Squirrel) by John Breiby, translated by Paschal Afcan and Marie Nick Blanchett, ill. John Breiby, 50 pp.

Angnilria Asriq Issuriyagaq (The Playful Little Seal) by Diane Dart, translated by Paschal Afcan, ill. Geri Keim, 22 pp.

Uugnar Angun-llu (The Mouse and the Man) by Lincoln Enoch, ill. Moses Chanar, 10 pp.

Pataaskaarrluunkuk Negair-llu (Pataaskaarrluk and the Spider) by Dora Gauthier, ill. Moses Chanar, 20 pp.

Pit'eqarraalria (The One With His First Catch) by Paschal Afcan, ill. Geri Keim, 46 pp.

Maqaruaq, Tan'gerliq, Uwituli-llu Iggiayuli (The Rabbit, the Black Bear, and the Wise Owl) by Henry Lupie, ill. Moses Chanar, 24 pp.

Translated Stories:

Aanakamken-qaa (Are You My Mother?) translated and adapted by Paschal Afcan, ill. Andrew Chikoyak, 57 pp.

Angulan Kegluneq-llu (Peter and the Wolf) translated by Paschal Afcan and Marie Blanchett, ill. Andrew Chickoyak, 21 pp.

Cat Assikeknganka (Things I Like) translated by Paschal Afcan, ill. Diane Dart, 30 pp.

Ca'urluq (based on Cinderella) Adapted by Geri Keim, ill. Geri Keim, translated by Marie Blanchett 60 pp.

Kul'tilakessaaq Pingayun-llu Taqukaat (Goldilocks and the Three Bears) Translated by Paschal Afcan, ill. by Kathi Hankinson, 46 pp.

Kavirluq Nacacuar (Little Red Riding Hood) translated and adapted by Paschal Afcan, ill. Andrew Chikoyak, 20 pp.

Kumluckaq (Thumbelina) translated by Martha Teeluk, ill. by Diane Dart, 32 pp.

Qimalleq (Peter Rabbit) adapted by Paschal Afcan, ill. by Andrew Chikoyak, 20 pp.

Music:

Yuarutet (Songbook I) compiled by Workshop staff, ill. Afcan, Dart, and Marcia Thompson, 22 pp.

Workbooks, etc.:

Nuk'aq Ilai-llu. Casliarkaput (Nuk'aq and His Family: Workbook) by Agnes White, Elsie Carl, and Tim Samson, ill. Rick Peck, 21 pp.

Cat Anerteqellriit: Caliarkaput (Living Things: Worksheets) adapted from worksheets from several bilingual schools, arranged by Irene Reed, ill. Rick Peck.

Instructional Manuals:

Instructional Manual, Bilingual Education (Level I & II) Bureau of Indian Affairs, Bethel Agency.

Handbook for Teachers of Primary Reading of the Yupik Language, prepared by Winifred Lande, Marie Blanchett and Martha Teeluk, 44 pp.

Materials for Upper Grades:

Naaqsugnarqellriit (Volume 1, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4) Journal, discontinued, prepared by Workshop staff.

Qanengssiit (Small publication oriented to village adults, one edition only so far, prepared by Workshop staff.

Civil Rights of American Indians Translation and tape in cooperation with U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

V-Diiq (Qanrutai Apqaurutai-llu Uyullermi Ciissingutnek) pamphlet and poster by Public Helath Service, prepared by Workshop staff.

Video Tapes and Film Strips:

Ariaran (Dorothy Napolean's production of an educational entertainment video tape for all elementary grade levels in Yupik schools), aproximately 20 minutes.

Qulirat 1 (Traditional Tales) by Michael Gloko and Evon Azean, taped by Irene Reed as they tell stories to each other (two half-hour video tapes).

Qulirat 2 (Traditional Tales) told by two young people (Anuska Amatunak and Sam Alexie) for children in the classrooms. (one half-hour tape.)

Sugaruaq (The Matgic Doll) by Anuska Amatunak, a half-hour video tape of traditional girls' story, presented with small hand puppets.

Ingqiliq Kapkaaniqsuulirpak An Athapaskan Professional Trapper Trapper (Morris Gundrum, Professional Trapper, a film strip showing an interior Athapaskan Indian checking his trapline. Translated into Yupik by Paschal Afcan from English version prepared by Curt Madison.

Miscellaneous:

Elitnauram Ayuqucia (Students report card) prepared by George Andrew and Sophie Parks.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

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INTRODUCTION

It is paradoxical to talk about change in cultures or languages without discussing changes and influences pressing upon the individuals of whom such groups consist. On the other hand it is shortsighted to develop language programs that focus on changing the individual child without being simultaneously curious as to what will be the fate of the child's culture because of it. Bringing about a small cognitive, or attitude shift in a child often seems the very most educational planners can hope for in a new program. But multiply a small shift by the number of children changed in a group, and a significant momentum can eventuate macroscopically which may or may not be desirable from the viewpoint of the indigenous education consumer.

Thus, even small changes in language behavior wrought, for example by bilingual education, can effect significant shift in the rate of language change within a cultural group. Thus, the relationship between language as the organizer of cognitive structure and language as a mediator of culture cannot be taken lightly when they meet in the classroom.

In 1967 Gaarder defined the bilingual school as one " ... which uses, concurrently, two languages as mediums of instruction in any portion of the curriculum ... " He also adds, "The teaching of a vernacular solely as a bridge to another, the official language, is not bilingual education ... nor is ordinary foreign language teaching." He lists the major reasons for adding the mother tongue:

a. to avoid or lessen scholastic retardation in children whose mother tongue is not the principal school language.
b. to strengthen the bonds between home and school.
c. to avoid the alienation from family and linguistic community that is commonly the price of rejection on one's mother tongue and of complete assimilation into the dominant linguistic group.
d. to develop strong literacy in the mother tongue in order to make it a strong asset in the adults' life.

These statements help summarize the ideals established for recent nationwide experimentation in bilingual education.

Few would presently deny that one of the most important recent trends in cross-cultural education is the increasing recognition of vernacular languages as legitimate mediums of classroom instruction. The proliferation of bilingual education programs in the United States within the last five years reflects this trend operationally. The 1967 Title VII amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) marks the salient beginning of the expansion movement under which 76 separate bilingual education projects were funded at an initial cost of $7,500,000. The present funding level of $35,000,000 under Title VII, suggests that interest has not waned, especially considering the times of financial austerity upon us.

Another index of the increased dimensions of bilingual education is the recent support shown in state legislatures for bills establishing the propriety of education in the mother tongue. Massachusetts, in 1971, passed a bill requiring school districts to provide bilingual programs for children whose first language is other than English. Numerous other states have replaced statutes which formerly allowed only English in the schools with laws permitting local bilingual education programs. Members of the Alaska State Legislature, following the lead of Massachusetts, have pursued strong laws culminating in 1972 with the passage of four landmark bills related directly to bilingual education in Alaska. One bill required the implementation of a bilingual education program in any village showing the need and desire for one, and another created a center for the study of Alaska's native languages at the University of Alaska. The remaining two bills enacted initial appropriations for these two programs, thus supporting the momentum of statewide consciousness and commitment to the value of bilingual education.

Since beginning in 1970 with four classrooms, bilingual education in Alaska has expanded to include classrooms in over twenty-five (25) villages, encompassing four major language groups, and several additional languages are presently being studied for future implementation in bilingual classrooms. Considering all sources of State and Federal funding, the 1972-73 financial commitment to all aspects of bilingual education approached $1,000,000 in Alaska alone.

While recognizing the essential validity of the bilingual approach for children whose first language is other than English, such an approach raises important implications for the total functioning of the child and for the cultural milieu into which he is socialized. As noted by Gaarder (1970):

> It is at the bastion of biculturalism rather than at the bastion of language alone that bilingual education will succeed or fail, and it is here that the doubts gnaw most painfully. (p. 169)

The bilingual classroom is not limited to structuring the kinds of bilingual capabilities the child will have. Rather, the bilingual classroom, through its influence on the language of the child, may also have serious significance for the rate and directions of change of the culture systems into which this child and children of future generations are socialized and expected to function.

As with any important educational innovation, an emergence of questions has developed around a wide variety of practical and theoretical issues. The present report addresses some of these key issues, going beyond that generally encouraged under the typical evaluation models currently favored by bilingual education project funders.[1] Educational evaluation models have tended to preclude in-depth psychological, sociological, and anthropological analyses of deep, long-range implications of bilingual education, for the children and cultures served. The present report speaks to this need and calls for basic information to inform local education consumers as well as planners about the potential impact of their educational decisions.

THEORETICAL ISSUES

It is first necessary to give some background to two major theoretical issues: *types of bilingualism* and *cultural identity formation*.

[1] For a comprehensive statement of the nature of such models, see Kruger, W.S., Educational Measurement in the Urban Complex. Paper read before the *Invitational Conference on Measurement in Education*, University of Chicago, Illinois, April, 1970.

Types of Bilingualism

While the advent of formal bilingual programs is recent in Alaska, interest shown in bilingualism as a phenomenon has grown rapidly since the 1920's. As with any field stirring the interest of scholars and scientists a great deal of theory and research concerning the nature of bilingualism has emerged. One of the more important contributions to this store of theory, the *compound-coordinate* distinction first made by Weinreich (1953), has been reviewed by Ervin and Osgood (1954), MacNamara (1967), and others. Our attention is drawn to two general types of bilingualists: (1) *compound types* — those for whom the meaning systems underlying their two languages are fused so essentially identical meanings are attributed to corresponding words and expressions, and (2) *coordinate types* — those for whom the two languages are supported by different meaning systems so that different or partially different meanings are given to corresponding words and expressions. Compound bilingualists are presumed to have acquired their languages within the same learning context, either directly, as in a bilingual home or indirectly where one language serves as a medium for learning another. The coordinate bilingualist, on the other hand has two distinct language systems because presumably they were developed in two distinct learning contexts.

The approach to the distinction taken by Ervin and Osgood (1954) was to posit different internal mediating processes to the two kinds of bilingualists. The coordinate type is said to have two sets of mediating responses for corresponding terms whereas the compound bilingual has only one.

Later discussions, notably by MacNamara (1970), attempt to point the issue more into specific semantic relations between the bilingual's two languages. Nonetheless, the characteristic which best distinguishes compound from coordinate systems is the extent to which the speaker maintains two separate language systems each of which is undergirded by a separated meaning system. Separate systems characterize the coordinate bilingual whereas the compound bilingual's two languages have a common, undifferentiated meaning system into which both languages are translated for thinking and retranslated for communication. The relative efficiency of mental processing is generally held to be greater for the coordinate bilingual for most activities. Perhaps more germane to the present report, however, the coordinate bilingual is more likely to be able to function the way a native speaker would in either of his languages. What kind of bilingualism (compound or coordinate) the bilingual classroom tends to foster relative to the traditional village classroom is therefore a question of great importance.

Cultural Identity Formation

Of even greater interest to the present researcher is whether the distinction between compound and coordinate bilingualism also describes ways in which patterns of bicultural identity formation may develop in a child. For discussion purposes, the child's environment comprises bicultural elements in physical as well as social domains. The physical domain may be seen as consisting of symbols and implements, and the culturally prescribed meanings and uses they are understood to imply. Spicer (1971) points out "The essential feature of any (cultural) identity system is an individual's belief in his personal affiliation with certain symbols, or, more accurately, with what certain symbols stand for" (p. 796). A child who understands that different cultures prescribe different meanings and uses for physical things and can incorporate such understanding into his own view of the world is at some advantage in coping and indeed is more likely to participate in the survival of his indigenous culture system.

As with the physical domain, the social domain may include bicultural elements. But instead of dealing with meanings and uses, the social domain consists of social practices, or more simply, social behavior and its antecedents. For the native child the critical aspect of biculturalism in the social domain is that behavior is only intelligible with reference to the cultural system that defines and maintains it. Any explanation of "why A did x" that does not take into account the social practices of A's culture would be no less futile than explaining to someone unaware of the rules of football that "A scored a touchdown."

The child who encounters a bicultural environment necessarily deals with two sets of social practices, each prescribing its own rules of intelligibility much the way different languages prescribe unique rules of grammar and syntax for intelligible communication.

For the present discussion, cultural identity comprises two major components, the first of which is the level of understanding the individual has about the culture's physical and social elements. In a sense, understanding a culture represents the qualifications or credentials necessary for participation or identification with a culture. One cannot hope to relate to a cultural symbol for example, unless he knows what it currently symbolizes (Spicer, 1971). Likewise, until one knows the appropriate usage of a particular implement he will experience some degree of estrangement from those in a culture who have a "natural" or "inside" knowledge of what it is for and how it is used. More seriously, however, is the level of understanding one has in the social domain that qualifies a person to participate in a culture. Much in the way one must know the rules (formal and informal) of football in order to be allowed to play, so must one understand the social practices of a culture in order to be qualified to participate, at least without drawing too much attention to oneself.

The second component of cultural identity comprises patterns of choice between elements of the two existing cultural environments. Again, the physical and social domains each require conceptualization for the choice patterns predicted to be shown by the person who identifies (by virtue of choice) with his indigenous rather than the dominant culture. In the physical domain, the child who identifies with his indigenous culture would tend to prefer, positively evaluate, or approach, familiar symbols, implements and vistas associated with that culture relative to corresponding physical entities of the dominant culture. In the social domain, choice patterns are in evidence when certain modes of social interaction are preferred over others, holding level of understanding theoretically constant.

Neither choice nor understanding supply the sufficient conditions for establishing cultural identity in an individual, but both are necessary. Absence of either component sentences the individual to periferal participation in a culture except perhaps during extended periods of rapid culture shift. Such periods may be defined as times when exceptions are made for certain new choice patterns and incomplete understanding regarding some aspects of the traditional cultural system.

It may be assumed that a language plays a central and continuing role in the acquisition and organization of the personal identity of the individual who speaks it. And, as in the view of Spicer (1971), a language may be assumed to play a central role in the continuity and maintenance of the cultural identity of its speakers throughout their history as a group.

The Language Situation In Alaska

According to Krauss (1971), as many as twenty distinct indigenous languages have been identified among Alaska's native people. The diversity of cultures underlain by this polyglot contributes a good deal of complexity to the accelerating emergence of the native people as a socio-political force in their own and in Alaska's future.

However, each of Alaska's many diverse language-culture groups has at least one characteristic in common. Each has faced and will continue to face the social and economic presence of the dominant American cultural system. Despite members of each language group being historically monolingual in a native dialect, English has dominated as the language of communication during exchanges between native and non-native cultures.

The history of this language exchange process has culminated in a wide spectrum of language patterns among Alaska's native peoples. At one end of the spectrum are those who are essentially monolingual in a native dialect. For example, many native children in Southwestern Alaska enter school with Yup'ik, the language spoken in the home, as their only language of communication. Most of the children of that area, however, are bilingual in Yup'ik and English, but the relative proficiency in the two

languages varies markedly from child to child and village to village. Finally, at the other end of the spectrum of language use are those native monolingual in English. There are whole dialects, e.g., Tsimshian and Haida, spoken only by the older people of the village.

No matter where on the spectrum one is placed, there are probably few Alaska natives who are far enough removed from some native dialect to be able to claim complete freedom from its influence on the development of thought, feeling, and intellect. In fact, virtually all Alaskan natives have either negotiated or will soon negotiate a developmental phase of bilingualism in which the native language is joined by the English language as an additional and sometimes sole means of communication. The whole range of responses to this "developmental phase" exists presently in Alaska, inviting systematic inquiry into the complex nature of its processes.

I wish now to advance the thesis that the foregoing issues bear a special relationship to one another when viewed in the light of bilingual education. First, at least as practiced in Alaska, bilingual education programs are committed to developing the child's two languages in separated contexts, thus, endeavoring with varying degrees of overt intention, to foster coordinate bilingualism. Second, virtually all bilingual programs, including those in Alaska, are committed to the enhancement of the child's self-concept, most often by developing major portions of the school curriculum around the child's cultural background. The question is raised then, whether children who function simultaneously under both processes will show the integrated influences of each. That is, are compound and coordinate bilingual systems functionally related to parallel processes in systems of cultural identity? Is the coordinate bilingual more likely than the compound bilingual to show greater implicit understanding of physical and social stimuli appropriate to the meanings and social practices which each of his two cultures define? And will his patterns of cultural understanding be enhanced by virtue of being held in separate cognitive domains just as are his two languages? Such questions generate the following two sets of hypotheses.

First, to the extent that Bilingual education (a) intentionally separates the language learning contexts of the first and second languages, (b) paces and sequences the introduction of the second language, and (c) communicates deep respect for the first language as a medium of instruction, the participating child is likely to develop coordinate bilingual capabilities. Therefore, children in such programs will evidence (a) superior code-switching abilities, (b) even first- and-second language balance, and (c) patterns of acquisition of grammatical and syntactical structures appropriate to the indigenous nature of each language, relative to Native children participating in traditional monolingual (English) education programs.

Second, if patterns of cultural identity formation are related to the nature of the child's bilingual tendencies, the following predictions should hold:

1. The more a child is characterized as a coordinate bilingual the greater will be the extent and depth of his understanding of the meanings and uses of the symbols and implements of his own and the dominant culture (at least as the latter is manifested in the child's local environment).

2. the more appropriately he will be able to behave regarding the social practices of each culture, and

3. the more articulated (differentiated) will be his understanding and behavior toward the various biculturally defined elements of the environment.

These are the general hypotheses from which a set of operating hypotheses could be derived in order to research the issue fully.

Besides the theoretical issues surrounding the potential impact of bilingual education, there are one or two practical matters which I would like to address. These are curriculum development and staff development.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

What are the responsibilities of bilingual education to the future of Native school curriculum development? A related issue concerns the development of the educational materials which go hand-in-hand with curriculum development.

Once again, the school's relationship to the local culture is the basis for deciding curriculum policy as well as content. This relationship is perhaps best illustrated in social studies curriculum and materials. An early attempt was made in the bilingual program to adapt existing social studies materials such as Senesh's "Our Working World,"[2] based on the economies of *everyday life*; at least everyday for most school children in urban and suburban areas elsewhere in the United States. It was earlier assumed that the concepts presented by Senesh, though not directly translatable, would be adaptable upon analysis to the rural Alaskan cross-cultural situation. After some initial attempts, however, it became apparent that the needs of Native children in their cultural setting could not be met adequately by the adaptation approach. It could not substitute for what must be built from the ground up, with a minimum of preconceptions borrowed from the dominant culture.

Unlike the urban white child, the Native child must be prepared to cope directly with his past as well as his future. He is the product of more social discontinuities wrought in a shorter period of time than is the urban white child, even though all exist in an era of rapid technological and social change. The forces of technological, economic and social change, in quantum leaps, introduce the native child to adaptation demands that the urban white child assimilated into his cultural framework generations ago and very gradually.

To the white child in a suburb, for example, the snow machine is little more than a new recreation, bought and maintained under the same social and economic systems that sustain every other sector of his life. Nothing really new has been added. In direct contrast, the introduction of the snow machine into village life is rapidly assuming revolutionary proportions. Formerly where time was spent securing food from the local environment to sustain a dog team, time must now be spent securing cash income to purchase fuel for the new "iron dog." The economic implications are obvious. Patterns of seasonal mobility are also modified, both by the speed of the machine and by the location of jobs to secure the wherewithal to feed it. Even the health status of children and adults alike has been seriously influenced by this machine as witnessed by the growing incidence of hearing loss among the native peoples through prolonged exposure to the extreme noise produced.

So to be useful, a Social Studies curriculum and the materials that give it substance must rise to meet a host of unique and complex demands, both now and in the future. Such demands will likely require a well defined task force of diverse persons each contributing a special source of needed knowledge and experience for their fulfillment. The general constituency of the task force should comprise (a) members of the native community, particularly those involved with education, either as teachers or as school board members, (b) persons knowledgeable of the cultural anthropology of Southwestern Alaska, (c) teachers who, though not Native, are sensitive to the needs of Native children, (d) educators who have known expertise in Social Studies curriculum development, and (e) persons presently responsible for bilingual program materials development.

[2] Lawrence Senesh. *Our Working World: Families at Work*. Palo Alto: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1964.

FUTURE PERSONNEL TRENDS

For all practical purposes, the burden of the educational effort in the bilingual program is directly in the hands of native persons. This is especially true in the very early primary grades where the majority of direct classroom contact is between the children and native teachers. The second language teacher serves as a resource for ideas and teaching techniques and as a teacher of English as a second language. Such an infusion of direct native influence in the classroom through this and other programs (e.g. Alaska Rural Teacher Training Corp (ARTTC)) constitute a set of sociological implications quite independent of the educational trends noted before.

What is being seen is a potentially shifting balance toward more native involvement in the delivery of local education programs. The question is, will the development of the program to be delivered follow suit, or will the program remain the product of an external cultural orientation. Within the setting of a bilingual program lies the *potential*, and I stress, the *potential*, for evolving a truly native-culture - centered curriculum, in conception as well as delivery.

CONCLUSION

I hope to have created in you a sense of the immensity of the potential impact of bilingual education in Alaska. Needless to say, its present and potential impact is as complex as it is immense, making quick, simple appraisals temporary at best. But at the risk of violating my own caution, I am left with the conclusion that few efforts have shown more effectiveness in realizing their goals in so little time, despite the apparent backsliding seen in the level II version of the program. The present status and future promise in all of the main program components: (1) classroom instruction, (2) materials and curriculum development, (3) staff development, and (4) local community involvement show a possibility for widespread educational innovation enjoyed by few other State or Federal programs. But with the potential for positive change comes the potential for encystment; a walling-off of the program's influence lest the educational organism "break-out" with a bad case of bilingualism, recognizable by symptoms of increased parental interest in their children's education, sudden flashes of cultural pride, and the unmistakable rash of enthusiasm for school the children show when for the first time in generations they can understand what their teacher is trying to say.

The choice between implementation and encystment of the bilingual education approach need not rest in the hands of any single group. Agency program planners need not, indeed have not proceeded without involving the local community into the process. But such was the beginning of what should be an evolution of sorts. Not a passive evolutionary process where nature takes it course, come what may, but an active process which has as its goal a program to meet the unique but changing needs of Alaska's Native children; a program built by their forebears not their overseers.

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NATIVE/NON-NATIVE COMMUNICATION: CREATING A TWO-WAY FLOW

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The single qualification absolutely essential for a man if he is to be successful at commercial fishing or education is that he have at least a minimal working knowledge of common sense.

Recent workshops confirm that many of us who know better still violate some of the few basic rules that make for successful communications experiences.

The task of explaining program strategies or concepts that are often highly sophisticated and specialized to audiences whose formal education may range from none at all to the doctoral level is admittedly difficult, and the temptation seems to be overwhelming to cop out by slipping into bureaucratic jargonese. But if we're serious about getting on with this business of education as a cooperative venture, best accomplished with the help of parents and other community people and not only as an exercise indulged in by professionals, then we're going to have to learn how to talk in such a way as to convey meaning.

I recently participated in a workshop composed of approximately 50% teachers, consultants, and other professional certificated educators, and 50% Native aides and activity teachers with little or no formal education. In a single twenty-minute lecture presentation the following words and phrases were used: individual diagnostic matrix, criterion-referenced testing, student assessment schemes, initial prescription, performance contract, numerical notation, objective attainment, basal reader, psychomotor coordination, periodic full assessment, sequential order, nonvalidity, comprehensible, targeting, diagnostic percentages, individual and class reporting prescriptions, master reference guide, math inventory, transpose information reported back, identified objective, level groups, static, PMI, CTB, ITBS, Addison-Wesley, McGraw-Hill. Now there were a lot of people drawing per diem who weren't catching much of that.

Rule number one in any communication model has got to be: CONSIDER THE COMPOSITION OF YOUR AUDIENCE — particularly their various levels of education and understanding, ethnic and language backgrounds, interests, and expectations. Probably not too many of us would make the mistake one educator did of going into Tanana thinking it was an Eskimo village, and spending the first few minutes of his presentation to the high school students gaining rapport by saying how happy he was to be among Eskimos — that he'd just come from a village of those shiftless, alcoholic Athabascans ... But what I'm suggesting is that a few of the things we're doing in workshops and meetings of mixed ethnic or cultural composition are just as lacking in taste, just as uninformed and ill-warranted, and in some cases operating on several of the same levels of ignorance.

If we are addressing the cabinet officers in the central office, or a conference of regional superintendents, or writing an academic article directed to educators, we might take the liberty of drawing upon certain vocabulary resources that have been developed to serve highly specialized in-house communications functions. But if our intention is to make ourselves understood by village people who have not been so fortunate as to benefit from the various and sundry educational advantages enjoyed by certificated and administrative personnel, then we'd better get with the business of translation — first, into communicable English; then, where appropriate, into the regional or local Native dialect.

Inadequate vocabulary and phraseology control are not the only potential confounders of communication. Following are some suggestions that might prove helpful in cross-cultural communications experiences.

DON'T TALK TOO MUCH. DON'T TALK TOO FAST. These are the dual faces of what I regard as the Critical Commandment for non-Native educators desiring to communicate with Native people. It seems to be virtually impossible for teachers and administrators who are products of an urban, Caucasian, competitive-acquisitive society to not *dominate* any conversation or meeting with Native people. I'm not suggesting there are no exceptions — but the facts are clear: the *rule* is that any time non-Natives and Natives sit at the same table to talk, the discussion is dominated and generally monopolized by the non-Natives. This results from *a cultural and not a racial difference* — but the correlation is so high (urban/white as opposed to rural/Native background and orientation) that for practical purposes the issue may be discussed, and usually is, in racial terms.

The reasons for Native non-participation or minimal participation in groups of mixed ethnic composition are various and complex. That non-Natives, and especially white educators, talk too much and too fast (and often too loud when standing close, or in an intimate setting, so as to amplify in some Natives the already-critical anxiety factor — though care must always be taken to speak clearly and loudly enough for older people whose hearing might be impaired, to follow) is not alone responsible. *Conditioned expectations are* also a contributing factor.

Whites have generally succumbed to the stereotypical view of Natives as passive and non-verbal, to the extent that it is a cliche in educational circles how much of a struggle it is to "get Native input." Unbelievable as it seems, the question is often raised whether people talk in the villages at *all*!

This is complemented on the other hand by the conditioned expectations of Native community people, who have the accumulated experience of years behind them of being imposed on by agency types who fly into town, gather up whatever people are not out hunting, trapping, fishing, wood-gathering, etc., for a "village meeting," and while the plane engine is still running, lay out a load of one kind or another on whomever is there, before they run down (they can now say they have "met with the village"), leap into the plane, and wing off into the sunset, to visit four more villages before dark. Neither the agency official nor the village people expected or intended the "communication" that occurred to be two-way. And I'm suggesting that by succumbing to the temptation of the old talk-too-much / talk-too-fast syndrome non-Native educators are realistically enough simulating that outmoded agency official/Native people atmosphere that the *traditional non-participation* of Natives is implicitly decreed.

I suspect the *tolerance level* of Native people *for periods of silence* punctuating dialogue is probably greater than that of whites, at least certainly in groups of mixed ethnic composition. Whites seem to get nervous quicker when no one is talking, and so they rush into the void with words, feeling they are somehow "saving" the situation, when the Natives weren't aware that it was lost. An individual with an appropriate and good sense of humor may help put people at ease, and make it easier for them to relate and communicate.

The *physical setting* seems to me to be an important factor. Just as there is a seldom-alluded-to but universally-understood distance (culture-variable) people find comfortable to keep between them when standing talking (violate it by standing six inches or six feet from someone you talk to in a hall, to see how inflexible it is), there are certain very specific elements that need to go into the composition of the kind of *communications environment* conducive to comfortable participation by most village or rural-oriented people.[1]

[1] The term Native for purposes of this paper will generally mean rural Native, or those having a rural orientation, and will have only limited applicability to urban Natives or assimilates.

SMALL GROUPS: Rural Native verbal participation in any gathering of mixed ethnic composition will generally take place on a direct inverse ratio to the number of people involved (only exceptions being items of such critical concern as the Sea Mammals Legislation which elicited public declamations from even oldtimers who had never spoken out about *anything* before to such large groups — but who spoke then in legislative hearings regardless who was there, or how many); the same is true of *ethnic mix* — the fewer Natives per white, the less Native input. I don't know of any magical break-off points — common sense should dictate the extent of the combined influence of those two factors.

The logical extension of these principles suggests then, and experience confirms, that small groups composed exclusively of Natives will allow for the most fluid, comfortable, and authentic Native input. If the question is "But will they understand the issues at hand enough to formulate intelligent contributions?" the questioner either does not understand his role as educator, or is shirking his responsibilities — (to say nothing of his cross-cultural naivete).

In the classroom, educators are merely facilitators of the learning process, not dispensers of the Truth. All they should be trying to do is initiate and minimally direct the process, infusing it with incentives and individualizing by student in order for it to function with some kind of relevant and ongoing continuity. Outside of the classroom, when dealing with community people, the same principles apply. Teachers and administrators are to go to parents for direction regarding the education of their children — they are not to *provide* that direction. All that is required is a full and fair presentation of alternatives to the parents — they know what they want for their children. And a "full and fair presentation" doesn't mean "Don't you think an open classroom learning center environment would be a better way of educating your kids than the rigidly structured classroom experience?" or "Wouldn't you like your kids to have the advantages of being exposed to the Phonolinguistic Approach to Diagnostic-Prescriptive Learning Program?" with no further explanations.

There is no reason why it should be any more difficult to educate parents and other community people to alternatives, then to allow them to discuss the issues fully and in depth amongst themselves before rendering their verdicts, than it is to lay out the options, then stand there as a group of eight teachers and four administrators hamstringing the traditional Native open dialogue process (which produces decisions by consensus, rather than majority vote) until they come up with something.

SMALL ROOM, LOW CEILING: Gymnasiums or large high-ceilinged multipurpose rooms are definitely not desirable meeting places — again I suspect that rural Native verbal output decreases in direct proportion to the size of the room.

Almost any home would be better than a room at school for most meetings involving Native community people. Seating arrangements should be comfortable and intimate, and particularly where non-Natives are involved, care should be taken not to conspicuously seat a "leader," or place anyone in a position where he would be speaking to the rest of the group. Definitely no one "standing" in front of the others.

As with Native students in the classroom, what is generally involved is a relationship orientation rather than a content or subject matter orientation.[2] The only time the real focus is on content is in a one-way communication set-up, e.g., the old agency-representative-laying-it-on-the-people situation, where neither the speaker nor the listeners participate or relate as persons, but rather as role-players serving a function preordained by Someone Someplace Higher. Content orientation, then, would be appropriate only whenever it is considered desirable for that type of relationship to be implicit.

[2]Judith Kleinfeld, *Effective Teachers of Indian and Eskimo High School Students*, (Institute of Social, Economic, and Government Research: Fairbanks, 1972).

CROSS-CULTURAL SENSITIVITY: Probably the major stumblingblock to effective communication in groups of mixed ethnic composition is the general inability of whites simply to talk with Natives (two-way flow) on a one-to-one basis. Ability to relate at this level tends to spill over into group settings; deficiencies at this level seem to amplify in a group — or perhaps it just seems worse because more people are suffering the consequences.

One of the initial blunders often made by urban types is to stride directly up to someone in a village and launch right into whatever issue is of immediate and mutual concern, without observing the local or cultural amenities. I believe this type of *faux pas* is rooted in the fact that "visiting" is pretty much of a lost art in urban areas anymore. Operating within the constraints of time and business (busy-ness) city dwellers tend to visit each other only when there is a reason for doing so — when there is some *purpose* to the visit — and they generally waste little time getting to the crux of it. Native people, on the other hand, generally spend considerable time *stroking* each other and *reaffirming* kinship ties when visiting in the village, before incidentally and perhaps circuitously approaching any subject that might be remotely interpreted as a "reason" for their visit — again, a relationship orientation, rather than a subject-matter orientation. Rural Natives tend to regard and interact with each other more as persons rather than as objects than do their urban non-Native counterparts. Purposiveness in visiting may be construed by the former as insulting.

One other point that might be brought out is that *levels of trust* have a way of diminishing with the intervening of time. You may have had what you saw as a very close and meaningful relationship with some person in a village at one time, only to return to find that person somewhat distant and undemonstrative toward you. Regardless of the depth or extent of your former relationship, you may need to walk back over some old ground in order to re-establish ties. It doesn't take a great deal of time to do this, but it can't be rushed. That person needs to be reassured that he or she is important to you and that what you share is meaningful, before the two of you can go on.

I doubt that sensitivity to the subtle and sophisticated dynamics of Native *non-verbal communication* (the most obvious example of which would be Eskimo eyebrow raising, e.g., for affirmative responses) can be taught. It can be *learned*, however — but experience will be the only safe guide. This is an area in which people who are good at sending and receiving signals are made, not born (though the sensitivity and intuitive endowment prerequisite to proficiency themselves may not be acquirable, and are probably inborn — or at least the predisposition for perceptual skills), and one in which there never has been and never will be an "instant expert."

Two further points need to be made: first, that "in any type of cross-cultural relationship and, indeed, in any interpersonal relationship....people are often unaware of the covert messages concerning affect, status and power that they send and receive in interactions overtly concerned with other issues. Increased awareness of these covert messages and how they are communicated is especially important in cross-cultural relationships because of the heightened sensitivity of both parties in an unfamiliar interaction and because social symbols differ across cultures...."[3]; second, that "Coming as they do from small villages where interpersonal relationships provide the entertainment and drama of life, and from cultural groups where social cohesion is of great importance to survival (Spindler and Spindler, 1957), Indian and Eskimo students [rural Native people in general—ed.] tend to be extremely sensitive to the nuances of interactions. White adults...are generally less attuned to the interpersonal dimension...."[4]

[3] Judith Kleinfeld, *Alaska's Urban Boarding Home Program*, (University of Alaska, College, 1972) p. 2.

[4] *Ibid.*

There are, however, a number of specific suggestions that can be made to non-Native educators that might prove useful. For instance, *talking down* to Natives is as offensive to them as anyone else. Hemingway once spoke of the broken, condescending, one-syllable, pseudo-English white people use when talking to drunks or Indians; that's the kind not to use. Speaking slowly and clearly for village people is critical, but that doesn't mean grunting or stringing out a lumbering barrage of three-letter words.

Being too *intent* may puzzle or confuse village people, and particularly on a one-to-one basis, is likely to be intimidating. *Super-sincerity* will have the tendency to make rural Natives shy away, rather than the probable desired effect of coming closer. Being overly *zealous* or *boisterous* will produce the same alienating results. Everything should be kept *low-key*—emotion, voice, physical gesturing (such as waving of arms). Perpetual wearing of what is known in the villages as a "missionary smile" is not a point-getter either.

The item of boisterousness deserves further comment. Based as it is on certain shallow, racist presuppositions ("Eskimos are such a fun-loving people, with a great sense of humor!" and "How they all love to laugh!"), it is a difficult problem to approach. How many times I have winced as I watched some jovial, back-slapping teacher or agency type overwhelm a cluster of village people with a bull-in-the-china-shop combination of guffaws and jibes, then swagger off down the way secure in the knowledge that he had "really had a good laugh with the Natives" (the *with* is the dubious item here)—whereas all he has likely accomplished is to underline the conviction in their minds that *gussuks* are sure queer ducks who aren't very sensitive about how people are reacting to them, and who behave in ways no one from the village would ever dream of behaving ... in short, who are certainly *different*.

The upshot of the whole matter, then, is that instead of bridging the cross-cultural / trans-racial gap as he imagined, the aforementioned individual has to the contrary broadened it.

The worst form of this type of behavior is that involving ironic teasing ("They sure love to be teased!") where the Native person doesn't have full grasp of the ironies involved, and can never be quite sure whether he is being made fun of or not. There is sometimes an element of cruelty involved, unconscious though it may be, as well as ignorance.

Recently I was asked to address the subject of Native humor — specifically, "What kinds of things do Eskimos laugh at?", so perhaps that issue itself warrants attention. The answer is quite simple: Eskimos laugh *at* things that are funny. Now if that answer doesn't seem sufficient or accurate, it could be rephrased to the effect that Eskimos laugh at things that are funny *to them*. That does not imply that what is funny to them is different in any way than what is funny to anyone else — it just means they react to catalysts within their grasp of language and context that set off their humor mechanism. The mechanism is essentially the same — in my view less unlike *gussuk* than British humor is rumored to be from French.

Extensive use of regional or cultural idiom (such as "bull in a china shop," "out in left field," "robbing Peter to pay Paul," "thrown for a loss," "taking the bull by the horns," "home safe," "when a push comes to a shove," etc.) should be "avoided like the Plague." Native people who have no background in urban living or baseball or football, etc., out of which these idioms have developed, often hang on them when they occur in oral presentations, grouping around in their experience and associational complexes for ways of relating the component parts of the idiom in some way that is meaningful. Meanwhile the speaker is rattling on, so that some key transitional element has been lost to that Native listener by the time he refocuses his attention on what is being said, with the result that the total picture becomes more and more obscure—until often, in frustration or ennui, he simply tunes the whole production out, assumes a blank stare, and begins weighing the relative merits of a Yamaha against a Polaris snowmobile for the coming winter.

Being too *open*, or *excitable*, or *brash* can be depended on to turn village people off, especially in a one-to-one situation. To a certain extent they have come to expect from non-Natives manifestations of what to them is bizarre behavior (for some reason this seems to be even more true in regard to workshops

or group sessions than on a one-to-one — or at least it seems to be regarded as more acceptable somehow in meetings, perhaps because it is less personally threatening or intimidating), but I believe that is all the more reason to refrain from such exhibitions.

If non-Natives ever hope to be accepted and to have an identity in the villages that is not defined in negative terms — such as *gussuk* (which has been restructured through phonetic evolution from the Russian *cossack* in such a way as to carry onomatopoetic implications that are uncomplimentary — which type of phonetic connotations in language, incidentally, tend to be pointedly consistent and not accidental: consider snot, sneak, snivel, snob, snoop, snake, snip, snitch, snarl, etc.); or non-Native (being defined only in terms of *not* being something else; non-entitical); or frequently in the Northwest as *kimuk* ("one who always does everything wrong, dumb, stupid"), or *uumin'ak* ("one who is not good, or who you don't like, or who is annoying or makes you angry or turns you off — and not just temporarily, but permanently; "this is an ongoing definition, not just a description of a present condition or specific instance), or *pigiitchuk* ("he is bad, evil"); or simply as always being "other" than everyday people lived with in the village — then it's incumbent upon those non-Natives to start being more sensitive about the ways they behave.

The phenomenon of whites wanting to assert their own individual ethnic identity is like making love to a mermaid — it's all right as far as it goes; but there's also the "when in Nome" dynamic, and if non-Natives ever want to be "accepted" in the villages they're going to have to learn, at least to a certain extent, how to "do as the village people do."

One of the most certain turn-offs in the business is to keep bringing up "how they do it in California," or "my experiences with Chicanos or inner-city Blacks" (for one thing, the overwhelming majority of Alaska Natives do *not* identify with Chicanos or Blacks or other ethnic minorities, it has been surprising to me how many Eskimos and Aleuts, particularly, still do not even identify as Native Americans with Canadian and other American Indians); or "how much better things are handled somewhere Outside." If white educators want to emphasize and retain their status as Outsiders, let them keep stressing it but let it be at their own risk and in full knowledge of the damage they are doing to identification and trust levels between them and the village people. What is involved are not only racial overtones that may be perceived by Native people as depreciative of them (that Outside, where everything is progressive, and where whites in the Big Cities have all situations firmly in hand, endeavors are not characterized by such primitive strategies, or naive attitudes, or lack of familiarity with the latest technological advances), but also a very dynamic and intense State chauvinism — as witnessed by the bumper stickers decorating many cars owned by *white* Alaskans. **We don't give a damn HOW they do it Outside!**

Better to go to the other extreme: ferret out local experiences and customs to draw parallels to *emphasize common referents*. Use of colorful and accurate simile and metaphor to illustrate specific points is extremely advisable, since evidence seems to indicate you would be tapping perceptual pipelines particularly conducive to learning in Native people, as well as enhancing trust levels and feeding mutual identification appetites. In short, if you *must* be experientially idiomatic, be sure it is on the basis of the village experience, so the listeners will derive full benefit from the idiom.

Maybe it doesn't need to be said, but being extremely sophisticated for the benefit of village people is a futile exercise, wasted in that the nuances involved are generally lost on that audience. Also, what aspects of the performance they do perceive will probably be regarded as humorous or distasteful. Again, sophistication is more likely to serve as a wedge between non-Native and village people than as a social cement.

Irony, idiom, and *sophistication* are intrusions based on experience irrelevant to village life, and tend to impede rather than enhance the cross-cultural communication process. Diminish, or better still, delete.

Nitty-gritty suggestions: no Monday morning workshops in Anchorage, Fairbanks, Bethel, Nome, etc. if any participants are to fly in from villages. Most of the rural areas don't have flights on Sundays, so many of your people will be coming in on Monday morning flights that may not arrive until noon. One or two o'clock would be better than 9:00 in the morning. Tuesday at 9:00 might be better yet.

An agenda outline should be distributed to all participants at the beginning of any workshops or meetings with plenty of white space under each item for appertaining notes, observations, questions, comments, or criticism. Too much of value is lost in the absence of a viable recording device.

Studies[5] indicate that information will be transmitted to Native people more effectively (and will be retained longer) if it is transmitted via image-based instruction and communication, such as charts, diagrams, slides, and films. This is particularly true of rural Natives and others with a high-perceptual-low verbal-ability pattern. So whenever the need is simply to transmit a specific body of information (essentially a one-way communication flow), or if the kind of extenuating circumstances arise whereby it is impossible to avoid holding a mass meeting of mixed ethnic composition in a large room, then the old non-communicative lecture-type presentation still remains as inexcusable as ever, in favor of some kind of image-based instructional module, preferably of the mixed-media variety, which would more effectively capitalize on such areas of cognitive excellence among Natives as perceptual analysis and image memory. The story knife, the totem pole, the stick dance and other traditional forms of dramatic dancing are precedents in Native culture that tend to reinforce the view that image-based communication stands the highest chance of achieving desired ends among Native people.

Translation, where appropriate, is absolutely critical — first into communicable English, then into the local (if in a village) or regional (if in a larger population center, such as Bethel, Nome, or Kotzebue) Native dialect. The decision as to whether or not translation into the Native language is necessary or desirable must be left exclusively up to the Natives present, with absolutely no outside suggestions or influence.

Which brings me to a critical point. In any workshop or series of meetings of mixed ethnic composition, I believe it is mandatory that two slots of time be set aside — one near the beginning of the sessions, one near the end — when the Native people present can get together by themselves, with no non-Natives present.

In the initial session, such questions as whether or not translation into the local dialect would be desirable can be resolved, and who the translator(s) if required should be. Also such things as what the Native people would like to get out of the workshop or meetings, and what ways they see themselves as participating or interacting, and perhaps specific issues they would like to see addressed, with suggestions as to how those issues should be approached. It is assumed at this point that the Native people present have been an integral part of a *thorough pre-planning and planning* process that clearly set out goals and objectives for the meetings, and that laid out specific strategies for achieving those ends. The purpose for throwing it open again would be to see if contingencies have developed since the planning sessions that would dictate modifications in the workshop design — issues may have arisen in the interim that require attention, or dynamics may have evolved in such a way as to invite exploration or consideration. Also, the sheer strength of strong personalities present may influence — for the better or worse — the direction of the meetings; in any case, as much allowance as possible must be made for these contingencies to be *anticipated*, rather than confronted spontaneously. (premeditated extemporaneity would be preferable here to "flying by the seat of your pants").

[5] e.g. Judith Kleinfeld's *Cognitive Strengths of Eskimos and Implications for Education* (University of Alaska, College, 1971).

In the Native caucus near the end of the meetings the participants should react to the workshop or sessions taken as a whole, with praise and criticism as appropriate, but most importantly with suggestions as to how future meetings could be structured so as to do a better job of achieving the explicit and implicit objectives. The non-Natives should be addressing the same issues in their groups from their own point of view.

There is some feeling that this type of segregation is anti-progressive and perhaps racist. My response to that would be that *it is the worst form of hypocrisy for educators to profess their commitment to "getting Native input," while at the same time refusing to create the kinds of channels through which that input might reasonably be expected to flow.*

I am not suggesting that entire workshops be segregated, just that segregated components be built into the overall design to provide one more form of dialogue and one more vehicle of expression for Native people in an attempt to maximize the opportunity for authentic and comprehensive village community input. And experience dictates that is most likely to happen in a situation where Native people feel perfectly free to express themselves.

On a recent visit to one of the larger regional high schools where the student body is 90% Native, I was somewhat startled by the composition of the student government. The student body is divided up into 25 groups of students somewhat at random. Each elects a representative to sit on a 25-member student government. That body, in turn, elects five of its members to sit with five faculty representatives on a student-faculty senate. All five teachers are white. Four of the five students are white. So whereas 90% of the student population is Native, the highest governing body in the school is 90% (nine out of ten) white. Even more to the point is that not only the five students on the student-faculty senate—but all 25 members of the student government—are from the urban center where the regional high school is located. Not a single rural Native sits on the student government, although students come from villages throughout that entire region.

Once again, the point is underlined that what we're dealing with is primarily a cultural and not a racial difference — but the difference is devasting. The issue raised by the ethnic and cultural composition of that regional high school student government is whether or not it is indeed *representative* of the constituency for which it is espoused to advocate — whether it is viable as a channel of communication through which rural Native students find it comfortable or possible to express themselves. Quite dramatically it is *not* representative, not viable, *not* acceptable.

What we need to do, then, is start over again from scratch—think through the whole business of representative government, what it is supposed to be and do, what forms it might take. Above all, we can't allow ourselves to be influenced or biased by ways we have seen governments representative of other ethnic or cultural constituencies created or structured, because that information will tend to be irrelevant and counterproductive. Our operational premises must be limited to the few "givens" we have with regard to rural Native people (e.g. their reluctance to speak out in large groups of mixed ethnic composition, and other characteristics discussed in this paper) — then we must attempt to create *new forms* consistent with what few things we do know for sure. Attempting to *adapt* governmental structures or parliamentary procedures specifically conceived and developed to perform advocacy and representative functions for urban, non-Native peoples, attempting to modify them in such a way as to make them viable and functional for rural Alaskan Natives is like trying to play golf with barbells — you might be able to get the ball rolling after a fashion, but you certainly won't be playing the same game.

Lumping regional high school students together in small groups by village, or by clusters of villages might be a place to start—say 50 groups of 10 to 12 students each. Each group might designate a representative to meet with representatives of several other groups. At that point you might have five groups of ten students each, or ten groups of five students each, or seven of seven (one group with an

extra member). Each of those groups then might designate a delegate to the student government, five, seven, or ten members). Each group might have both a *leader* and a *speaker*. Supposing in the intimate context of a small number of students, the one who emerges as the real *leader*, in terms of eliciting the respect and loyalty of others on the strength of his imagination, ideas, his personality and character — supposing that student is a Native from a very remote village where only or predominantly his Native language is spoken. Chances are he would be reluctant and embarrassed to speak out in even small groups of mixed ethnic compositions (since there likely has been nothing in his past to prepare him for it), and most certainly he would rather lose his fingers and toes of frostbite than stand and address, say, the entire faculty and student body *at a general assembly*. In that case, perhaps a mechanism needs to be set up whereby a *speaker* is designated (by the group? by the leader?) who would literally be the mouthpiece to express the wishes of the leader and/or the consensus of the group.

Pursuing that line of thought to its logical extension, then, perhaps even the concept of a student body president needs to have a hard look. Providing (when appropriate) an administrative assistant for the president who would, again, be his mouthpiece or spokesman at gatherings before which the leader himself would be uneasy to speak — would free the groups designating the leaders to *do* their selecting on the basis of qualities and criteria that actually are the attributes of *leadership*, and not merely on the basis of who is willing and able (primarily urban, primarily non-Native) to stand up in the front of an auditorium or gymnasium and deliver a public declamation. Because one student has had more extensive exposure and, therefore, is more fluent in the English language than another, does not mean he has more to say - there is no correlation. And the issue needs to be dealt with as to which language will be used - certainly the composition of the smaller clusters of students by home locales will dictate that some of the groups will be communicating primarily in their Native tongue. Naturally in general assemblies a mutually intelligible language will need to be used, almost certainly English. But that does not preclude translating into the regional dialect - in which case the real leaders may opt to speak for themselves. Obviously, this process or method will have greater applicability in some places than others - it is for the "some places" I take the time to put these thoughts together; the "others" are probably already functional.

Village people have indicated their disdain for Anglo forms and structures in any number of ways, not the least of which is reflected by the Yupik word for village council member, *angaayuqaruaq* (pretend boss). In some villages, people on the council are legitimately high status individuals in that local context (although almost *never* are THE leaders on the council, and even less often are they council presidents). But in many situations they are middle status or lower, designated more than anything else because of their willingness to play the role of "pretend boss" - to go through the motions of setting up meetings, answering correspondence, filling out papers, and entertaining visiting agency officials. When non-Natives come to villages representing programs and with specific purposes they tend to be pretty insecure and it is important to them to have "official" *angaayuqaraqaq* to meet with. Native people have learned, then, how to cope with the old *take me to your leader* syndrome - and instead of directing them to the *real* leader or leaders (with whom the visitors would most likely not even be able to talk and who they *certainly* would not understand), they escort them instead to the "pretend bosses" - and everybody is happy. Then if the visitor raises legitimate issues or asks real questions (it sometimes happens) requiring response from someone *in authority* in that village, then the subject is tabled until the council president can get together with the real leader or leaders and get the answers for his people.

The reason why the actual leaders are seldom village council Presidents is the same as why rural Native student leaders are seldom on student governments - the unique combination of attributes responsible for their attaining such a high status among their peers just happens not to include proclivity for going through the motions of playing "pretend boss" (in fact, by definition in that cultural context *precludes* their consenting to spend their time in that way).

Another rule of thumb to remember: those in the best position to actually "speak for" Native people in the village are least likely to profess to be able to do so. Those who run around flaunting their ability to speak for the People are "apples" (red on the outside, white on the inside) if they were culturally – as well as racially Natives they would know better than to talk that way. Nobody speaks for The People but the people themselves. The only appropriate response to the question of what do Natives feel about some particular issue is: they feel the same way about it as non-Natives feel about religion.

What I'm suggesting is that most of the channels of communications we have set up for cross-cultural/ trans-racial exchange — most of the forms and structures we have constructed within the perameters of which we attempt to create (and erringly profess to enjoy) *dialogue* — are culturally biased (pragmatically, if you will, racially discriminatory) in such a way as to assure the apples and assimilates (who are the least authentic spokesmen for their people) positions of preeminence in ongoing corporate endeavors; while in the absence of traditional Native channels of communication and time-tested village systems of checks and balances, the voices of the real leaders are not being heard and their influence is not being felt. We are being deprived of the vision and views of the accumulated wisdom, distilled and crystallized in the minds of the old-timers, or (I believe the argument can be made) the most pragmatic people who ever have lived — because of our inability and/or unwillingness to create channels through which those people might express themselves.

Returning to the subject of workshops, I have personally observed sessions that for this very reason I would have written off as unsalvageable in regard to Native participants–but that were virtually saved by recourse to the type of *segregated caucuses* referred to earlier. In at least one instance the Native representatives from both the S.O.S. Central Office and the Regional Native Corporation had left the meetings in disgust and radioed for a charter out of the village. The Native participants from the village itself and from other surrounding villages, whose travel and per diem were being paid by the program sponsoring the workshop, and who were therefore a "captive audience," had resigned themselves to sitting through another fruitless exercise, and were merely putting in their time listening to non-Native teachers and administrators share their views with each other on Native characteristics and needs, and develop program objectives based on these observations. The workshop was being held in a gymnasium, with typically 70 or 80 persons of mixed ethnic composition present, and whenever the main group was broken down into smaller bodies by village, the non-Native teachers and consultants tended to continue to dominate and/or give direction to each session. Native input was negligible or worse (the latter having reference to the fact that when verbal contribution is ultimately pried out of rural Native people under such artificial and intimidating circumstances, the product is not likely to be genuinely representative or authentic, and is further to be condemned because its credibility will have been enhanced by its having been "expressed" by a Native).

At that critical juncture a suggestion was made to let the Native people meet by themselves to discuss the workshop, and to see if they had any input on the program objectives, or with regard to future sessions.

The meeting that made the difference was held almost exclusively in Inupiat and lasted several hours. Oral contributions were made voluntarily by everyone present but two students and one old woman (out of approximately 40 Native participants), whereas not more than three or four had ventured to speak out in the mass meeting and certainly not more than a dozen, all told, spoke out in the smaller mixed groups. An invaluable and comprehensive list of performance objectives, a series of positive suggestions for the improvement of future workshops (set in a framework of beneficient criticism with regard to the current effort), and a great deal of other input (related ideas, the articulation of certain *reality factors* that had been overlooked, the sharing of program strategies that seemed to have been successful in one or another of the villages, etc.) were all distilled out of the six to eight pages of notes taken, and it is fair to say, took the non-Native teachers, administrators, and consultants completely by surprise. Their caucus appeared to have bogged down somewhat in abstract and esoteric educational theorizing, and hadn't produced anything like a comparable product.

One point was made absolutely clear: infusing Alaskan education with a little good old-fashioned village pragmatism is like shooting a quarter-horse up with adrenalin—a whole lot more rapid forward motion results.

Far more surprising than the extent and viability of the end product, however (which a number of persons in both groups could have predicted), was the transformation of attitudes and change of atmosphere following the workshop division. The Native participants appeared to have dissipated some of their frustrations and inhibitions, and spoke out more freely in subsequent sessions; also, everyone seemed to be more relaxed and to feel more positive about what was going on. At the risk of oversimplifying, let me suggest that "negative vibrations" and several levels of rather intense hostility (for whatever reasons) that characterized the earlier stages of the workshop, were replaced by very positive vibrations and a prevailing spirit of cooperation and good will. I believe that what was clear to everyone was that half of the participants of the workshop, who had rather systematically and devastatingly been denied a voice (however unintentionally) had suddenly found a means to be heard—and that seemed cool. Not only was that in itself perceived as being a little saner, and somehow more satisfying morally, but it was also discovered that those participants had, indeed, a desperately-needed contribution to make. I can't conceive any of us who were at that workshop ever forgetting the lesson.

Other components that might be profitable to build into future workshops would be small ***groups by villages*** (teachers and administrators, Native aides, activity teachers and community people), ***groups divided according to function*** and/or grade levels (e.g., all primary teachers together, all E.C.D. personnel, bilingual teachers, school board chairmen, 9th grade teachers, etc., in separate groups), as well as the whole group together for image-based presentations. Whenever it is demonstrated, I would say that any of these other means of communication, or that the combination of them all, is capable of producing results equivalent to the Native/non-Native caucuses, then let's do away with them. Until that time, I would ask non-Natives to swallow their objections and not regard themselves as being discriminated against or "squeezed out," but to be big enough to sacrifice whatever personal comfort or perceived compromise of convictions it requires of them in order that another, and vitally important, segment of the populace (students and parents; community people; Native educators) be provided the opportunity to have an ***equal*** voice in the content and delivery system of local education—a voice which might otherwise not be heard.

To my mind, one of the great challenges facing Alaska Natives in the immediate future is how to restrict the cultural bias factor to a minimum in all the dealings with non-Natives that are going to have to take place—not only in education, but in all the areas thrown open wide by the recent passage of the Land Claims Settlement: in business, industry, and politics, and in the inner sanctums of regional and local offices with non-Native advisers, consultants, and attorneys on Native payrolls. More outcomes and end-products than ever will be guessed will be influenced and in many cases determined by the ***cultural bias introduced by structures*** of organizations, committees, planning groups, workshops, advisory boards, individual meetings, even corporate structures (that make it difficult or impossible for Natives to have an effective and/or equal voice), ***process*** (carefully designed to impose time constraints and other impinging factors that preclude or restrict, for example, authentic canvassing via traditional modes of Native communication for grassroots input on a certain issue), ***content*** (laid out and weighted in such a way as to direct outcomes), and ***personalities*** (conscious or unconscious people-manipulators).

The problem facing us is one other Native Americans faced much earlier (I think of the French and Indian wars)—of how to get the confrontations into territory and under the kinds of conditions that will give us an even chance (or an edge) in the outcomes, instead of fighting the kind of battle the other side has received generations of training to win, and in which those without equivalent background are simply "mowed down" by highly sophisticated and devastatingly efficient machinery.

It was not a caprice of the moment when Jesus admonished his own followers to "pray in this way: lead us not into temptation," rather than "help us to overcome temptation when we encounter it." Very simply, preventive tactics constitute a pragmatically superior strategy to formulating responses in the face of crisis. So those of us who are seriously concerned with the problem of constraining cultural bias in cross-cultural encounters will want to focus our efforts more on causes than effects, and attack the problem in its formative stages—we will want to develop *preventive measures* that will preclude the problem's ever taking shape.

Virtually everything that matters happens (as was suggested earlier) in three phases: *pre-planning*, *planning*, and *implementation*. In the past, whenever Native people have been involved in programs, projects, conferences, workshops or meetings, it has almost invariably been at the implementation stage and generally in such a way as to be incontrovertibly token. On the rare occasions they were invited to participate in a planning process, that process had already been so carefully designed in the *pre*-planning phase that the end results were for all practical purposes already ordained. The composition of the planning team had been decided—how many Natives versus how many non-Natives; how vocal, how informed on specific issues to be considered, how comfortable each was likely to be. Time constraints were set in concrete ("We've got to have this proposal written and submitted to Region Ten by the first of next week."), so that opportunities for soliciting additional input or becoming more informed in order to be able to intelligently participate, were aborted. Probably the critical questions, the *why*'s and *wherefore*'s, such issues as real needs, principal goals, long-term objectives, had already been dispatched, and there was no longer any question as to whether or not sewing earmuffs on all Eskimo babies north of the 60th parallel was advisable, in order to prevent eventual loss of hearing due to *otitus* media. No question as to the implications of such a step—the only issues left to be decided were perhaps the color and style of the muffs, and whether or not nylon strings or sinew should be used for the stitching (the latter being considered more culturally relevant). As was pointed out earlier, even the predetermination of the meeting place for a planning session could seriously influence the eventual outcomes.

Where we are losing out all across the board—where it is *critical* we take dramatic steps to insure consistent, comprehensive, and genuine Native participation—is in the *pre-planning* of everything that affects Native people.

I recently sat in on a meeting at which the issue was being discussed of the future of local control of education in rural Alaska. Representatives were present from the State Department of Education and the usual agencies, but no single Native representative of any of the regions was invited. When the question was raised of where were the people who counted, it was expressed that we were only going to do this-and-this, and that *later* would be the appropriate time to invite the participation of Native leaders.

I am not satisfied, and deeply resent that anyone or any group should decide for Native leaders at what juncture it is *appropriate* for them to become involved. The time is past when that was either acceptable or viable behavior. There is only one point in time at which it is appropriate within the current context of reality factors for interested parties to come together on any issue, and that's at the very *beginning*, when the issue is first raised. At the point it becomes obvious that something is to be done, or needs to be done, recipients of the end-products need to become immediately involved.

Simply put, *pre-planning* is *where the power is*. If that phase of any program is carefully controlled, the end-products are mere details that fall in place. If, say, the composition of the group that will subsequently do the planning is purposefully designed; if the circumstances under which they will meet are conducive to the type of communication desired; if the time frame within which the planning will have to be accomplished is liberal enough to provide (1) ample opportunity for grass-roots input and

testing of intermediary ideas on legitimate community sounding boards, and (2) modification of notions in the light of input and information reported back, as well as (3) allowances for "Indian time" and whatever pragmatic extensions of that principal need to be taken into account—e.g. the rates at which some things are likely to take place within the contexts of Native culture and traditional village communications modes that might not be the same as non-Native planners are used to; if the whys and wherefores, the long-range goals, and program objectives are carefully laid out (or if the paths to desired options are meticulously primed); if the "hidden agenda" for the subsequent planning sessions, and all the unexpressed but implicit objectives are sensitively integrated into the overall planning scheme; if a system of loopholes and *Catch-22*'s is created to deal with any unanticipated contingencies that might develop of a nature counter-productive to desired outcomes; then the end product (not just in the planning, but in the implementation phase as well) have little chance of emerging in any form other than that expressly desired by the pre-planners. It virtually ceases to become important who is given the responsibility for implementation of the program; it has already been given its essential shape. The ultimate program design *may* be – and often is – actually set in concrete before the "planners" ever convene!

The rules for playing the planning game are the same for everyone (and facility at determining the direction of long-range planning simply involves extensions of all the same principles—mastery of the art of *anticipatory one-upmanship*) only all of us haven't had equal opportunity for exposure to them. What I'm suggesting by dissecting the rules in this rough form is that in the future any non-Native educators truly committed to "getting Native input" and establishing authentic two-way cross-cultural communications, might keep these principles in mind, and go out of their way to involve Native people in programs - *not* after the design has been set, the ground rules established, the damage done - but *before* the critical decisions have been made (preferably even before the critical questions have been asked.)

For Native leaders and educators, my view is that attention to these kinds of distinctions is a matter of survival - at least certainly on whose terms.

The foregoing remarks are not intended to be regarded as Holy Scripture—they are little more than an exploratory sally into a subject-matter area that has not received much intelligent treatment. If they succeed in bringing into focus some disjointed elements in a rural teacher's experience; if they provide any kind of handle with which to get hold of some of the critical problems we face in cross-cultural communication; if they spur further thinking on the subject or in any way contribute to initiating a deeper and more comprehensive study; most of all if they prove to be practical and useful in creating the kind of communications environments and planning practices for all our dealings and meetings that will maximize parental and community input at the village level into an educational system that for too long has failed to make itself relevant or successful at meeting the needs of the students it plays a critical role in preparing for life, then these observations will have served their intended purpose.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH AS AN APPROACH TO A SCIENCE OF CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATION: THE COMPARATIVE METHOD AND THEORY BUILDING

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is twofold. I wish to discuss the significance of cross-cultural education as a focus of anthropological theory building, and to offer some preliminary observations on the process of increasing the explanatory ability of current theories pertaining to cross-cultural education. Many of the statements in this paper are tentative and lack the authority of being subjected to rigorous intellectual challenge, however, I hope that this will not serve to draw attention away from what must be regarded as an important area of research and development.

It is the position of this paper that the science of cross-cultural education involves the systematic accumulation of reliable data about those aspects of human behavior involved in the formal transmission of culture. The interrelationship of these empirically gathered data could then be illustrated by use of the comparative method. In this way our generalizations and propositions could be empirically tested by the application of statistical methods.

For purposes of this paper I take science to be the structure and processes of accumulation of systematic and reliable knowledge about any relatively enduring aspect of the universe, carried out by means of empirical observations, and the development of concepts and propositions for interrelating and explaining such observations. (Pelto 1970:29).

In order to further define the assumptions implicit in this presentation I perceive theories to be systems of interrelated statements with deduced linkages that presume to explain some aspect of the universe of human behavior (or for that matter, the physical universe). And, finally having made explicit my conceptions of science and theory, perhaps a sketch of what I take to be true of methodology. Methodology is the procedure whereby the researcher manipulates his data from theory to observation or, better from observation to theory in order to produce and organize the information gained through certain organized research procedures.

PART I
"Whatever it is, it is cross-cultural education!" [1]

The need to impart formal educational practices to Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut students training to be teachers has made it painfully apparent that educators do not provide for the adaptation of the majority societies educational system into small, homogenous, culturally unique units (cf. Alaska State-Operated Schools 1973). Questions as to the integrity of these culture bearing units is the subject of discussion in a subsequent section of this paper. It is apparent that the literature on cross-cultural

[1] Wolcott (1967) opened his review of anthropological research with a colleague's quote, "Whatever it is it's not anthropology." I have taken the liberty of restructuring the statement to emphasize my view of the literature in cross-cultural education.

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education might help us in our dilemma by separating into categories various attempts to render the system more adaptive to other culture bearing units. However, a careful perusal of the relevant literature causes me to assert that "cross-cultural" education has no conceptual authority nor has it utility as a heuristic. The term has been used with such abandon nearly anything is called cross-cultural education.

Burger (1971) equates cross-cultural to intercultural, interethnic, and transcultural. There is little doubt that Burger is not speaking to the issue of cross-cultural research in Anthropology. He is attempting to designate a particular educational activity involving culturally different teacher and student as "Ethno-Pedogogy." Greenberg offers *Cross-Cultural Implications for Teachers* (1968: 148). Henry (1960, 1972:72) has developed *A Cross-Cultural Outline for Education*. Suffice it to say the literature is replete with various uses of "cross-cultural" education.

We can identify three major categories of use of the term. Ianni and Storey (1973:418) identify the term cross-cultural education as meaning three, quite different phenomena. It characterizes, first, formal or informal educational encounters that involve cultural differences. Second, the term describes formalized teaching and learning experiences in which cultural difference is presumed to be problematic. And, third, cross-cultural education circumscribes the field of study that compares educational processes and structures across cultures. Though my knowledge of the literature is not exhaustive I believe the Ianni and Storey taxonomy to be the first of its kind with respect to the term cross-cultural education (1973:418).

With respect to the categories proposed I suggest that we need to further elaborate the framework but, for now, I am only interested in their third category: cross-cultural education circumscribes the field of study that compares... The ability to produce generalizations about the formal transmission of culture using the comparative method in Anthropology is the primary goal of this paper.

The State of the "Descriptive" Art in Anthropology and Education

Through this paper I wish to speak out for a thorough rethinking of the tenuous but burgeoning relationship between Anthropology and Education. It is not my purpose to cover more than a few of the problems surrounding cross-cultural education and anthropological research outside of the "Statistical Survey and the Nomothetic Revival" (Harris 1968) but there is a problem with data collection and analysis in most field reports. A brief elaboration might be profitable at this point.

The need exists to develop an appropriate conceptual framework for those categories of cultural transmission that deal with one's own culture (enculturation), or involving two or more cultures (acculturation), or the generalized phenomenon of learning to live in any sociocultural milieu (socialization). (after Mead 1963:184-188) Williams (1969:2) asserts that there is a profound conceptual difference between statements concerning learning human culture and statements about the learning of culture within the context of one society, such as Navajo, Ifugao, Javanese, or Eskimo.

The description of generalized learning of any sociocultural milieu (socialization) is not well represented in our literature. In fact, Williams (1969) feels we know little that is scientifically meaningful concerning the socialization process because there are so few basic descriptive accounts of enculturation in [other] non-Western societies. Without the basic descriptive studies we do not have the necessary data to develop a comparative basis for making theoretical formulations with any explanatory power. Then, it is obvious, we must gather more data for comparison if we wish to build social scientific theory.

There is also going to be a greater need for descriptive accounts of enculturation and acculturation. However, all three of these learning processes (socialization, enculturation, and acculturation) need not take place (indeed, most often have not) in a formalized educational setting. Therefore, they may or may not be included in our formulation of cross-cultural education.

We must identify whether we are describing socialization, enculturation, acculturation, or an appropriate combination of these processes in the formal educational setting. We will then acquire the data necessary for comparison and this will tend to enhance our ability to produce valid generalizations. An illustration of the comparativists dilemma shows that Wolcott (1967) is describing formal education in an acculturative milieu. King (1967) is also describing acculturation. However, Hostetler and Huntington (1971) are describing enculturation as is Williams (1969), Warren (1967), Singleton (1967), and Read (1968). You probably recognize these monographs as representing some of the Case Studies in Education and Culture series edited by George and Louise Spindler. In the forward to each book in the series the Spindlers co.ument:

> "We hope these studies will be useful as resources for comparative analyses, and for stimulating thinking and discussion about education that is not confined by one's own cultural experience." (1967-1972)

It is axiomatic that almost all studies in cultural anthropology are cross-cultural in orientation. This is true because most cultural and ethnographic studies employ our own Euro-American patterns as implicit (to often invariant) points of reference for illuminating cultural differences. This approach to cross-cultural education would be "a way of thinking" rather than a precise methodology.

The series is welcome, however, I find very little that is suited to comparative analyses.

The authors of the monographs are describing different processes, i.e. education has a different function in each society. In some societies the students are learning their own culture (enculturation) and, in others the students are being forced to unlearn their own and learn an alien culture (acculturation). The processes can not be the same though similar skills may or may not be used. The patterning of these cultural processes may exert a significant influence on the nature of the adult personality of the children subject to such learning experiences. It has been suggested that the cultural milieu is mediated to the basic (modal) personality in the socialization process. In our society "schooling" has taken on the job of mediating for the individual thus expediting the amalgamation process. This could be true in other cultures.

I am sure the case studies I mention are not envisioned as data for nomothetic analyses but we do need to begin directing our attention to comparative data gathering techniques. It must be obvious that I feel strongly that quality idiographic studies must continue, however, due to the "law of the conservation of basic data" it would be useful if the descriptivists would gather data categorically designed to assist the cross-cultural (hologeistic) researcher's effort at the comparative study of socio-cultural phenomena. My own interests are in comparison and I am aware that without the appropriate descriptive data my endeavors will surely prove fruitless.

In closing this section of my paper, I would like to repeat that this paper focuses on formal education. Formal education for our purpose is one aspect of socialization. Formal education can be either enculturation or acculturation, but usually not both simultaneously.

The refinement of categories is essential to the development of a scientific cross-cultural education. The fact that cross-cultural education, enculturation, acculturation, and socialization are confused in the literature draws our attention to the need to improve the explanatory level of all concepts and constructs in the three categories of cross-cultural education.

PART II
The Need for the Comparative Approach to Theory Building

There is no question of the need for comparisons in cross-cultural education (see page 85). Some question does, however, exist as to the method of comparison that might prove most fruitful in terms of general statements and ultimately the testing of theories germane to sociocultural phenomena in a formal educational milieu. The descriptive generalizations resultant from the various case studies in Culture and

Education have less capacity for explanation and prediction than the laws resulting from the testing of hypotheses deduced from theory. Our purpose with the hologeistic or nomothetic approach is to augment the explanatory capacity of theory.

Gearing (1972:8) asserts that his notions of transaction and equivalence (cultural transmission = transaction of equivalences) make untenable some familiar phrases: "a culture," "a subculture," "cross-culture" (in the usual sense that some situations are and some are not one of these). In general, I agree, but I believe that ethnographic fieldwork can function in any situation as the basic tool of anthropological research and the induced categories submitted to comparative analyses. In fact, Gearing alludes to this possibility in his discussion of "mapping equivalences." Chaney (1971) calls this sociocultural data patterning. Further, Gearing closes his excellent paper with the remark that there will remain the task, clear in principal but doubtlessly very difficult in doing, inductively to derive from emic systems of categories and from emic systems of logic, adequate etic systems, following Goodenough's standard. (Gearing 1972:16)

The mandate for the application of the comparative research methods developed primarily by anthropologists is clear. Herskovits (1948:625) early stated that culture exhibits regularities that permit its analyses by the methods of science. There must exist an emphasis on classification and analysis of the similarities and differences between cultural forms, to the end that valid generalizations about cultures as a whole, that permit prediction, can be achieved. It has been the use of cross-cultural materials, more than anything else, that has sounded the death knell of theories about human nature (1948:617). We mentioned earlier that formal education is considered to involve the function of transmitting culture as well as having structural relationships to other cultural forms and thereby falls well within the purview of Herskovits' optimistic statement concerning analyses by scientific procedures. The whole idea of the structural interrelationship of formal education, with other institutions in nonwestern societies should intrigue any researcher interested in cultural forms.

Finally, Richards (1973:287) asserts that without some theoretical understanding anyone trying to work in a cross-cultural situation is in the position of a man looking for a gas leak with a lighted candle.

PART III
The Comparative Approach to Theory Building

Nadel (1951) offers us by far the most systematic and comprehensive treatment of the comparative method. He defines it in terms of the systematic study of similarities and differences, through the use of correlation and covariation, in the formal educational milieu.

Lewis (1956) offers a useful continuum of "types of comparison."

1. Global or Random Comparison (Hologeistic)
2. Broad Typological Comparisons
3. Comparisons between continents or nations
4. Comparisons within one continent
5. Comparisons within one nation
6. Comparisons within one culture area or region

I might add that school systems and schools might also fit into Lewis' types as we move more to least abstract with respect to the observation of human behavior. It is only fair to point out that the hologeistic cross-cultural studies (category #1) are only one variety of comparative studies. Hsu (1969:52) states whether we concern ourselves with many or a few societies, a comparative framework is indispensable to the development of anthropology. Would I be presumptuous to maintain the same is true for the development of cross-cultural education? We must make our heretofore implicit comparisons become explicit and further enhance the building of theory in cross-cultural education.

The basic assumptions in my argument are that the elements of any culture tend over time to become functionally integrated or reciprocally adjusted to one another. Murdock and White (1968:329) state that if such adaptations were instantaneous cultures would at all times exhibit perfect integration, and functional relationships among the elements of a culture or social system would readily become manifest through observation and analysis. Further, if this was the case, valid scientific generalizations could be reached by the intensive study of individual cultures, and cross-cultural research would be unnecessary. Since perfect integration is seldom the case (apparently) in formal education in non-Western sociocultural milieu there is a "felt" need for cross-cultural research in education.

CONCLUSION

The Cross-Cultural Method of Comparison

There are professional anthropologists that consider cross-cultural research to be a futile endeavor. The bulk of this group resides in Europe, some call themselves British Social Anthropologists. The spokesmen for this group are varied in ability and articulateness. I have chosen to cite the views of Edmond Leach, an outstanding scholar. Leach argues that the present system of cross-cultural comparison makes the Tikopia and Chinese cultural units of comparable type and this is a *reductio ad absurdum*. His argument is that the Chinese are millions and the Tikopians few. Further, any work that rests on the assumption that the units of discourse, whatever they are labeled, can be described taxonomically by a "list" of characteristics is by its very nature a travesty of good, sound anthropological thinking. Cultures can not be described as can a species of beetle.

Leach asserts that the coders in various cross-cultural research centers "misread" his monograph on the Kachin. He asserts that it is not that Murdock's tabulators intentionally change his data, it's simply the ethnographic facts will not fit tidily into tabulated categories. Leach believes that this is true of all human social"institutions (Leach 1964:299). Leach tells us that he is confident he speaks for all British social anthropologists (1964:299). Also, Leach questions the unit of analysis in cross-cultural study, and secondly he feels the conceptualization, classification and coding problems in cross-cultural research are an insurmountable barrier. And, finally, he questions data accuracy. These are three significant issues that anyone hoping to gain explanations from cross-cultural research must be ready to deal with. A final comment from the British school is necessary to show the depth of the schism between British Social Anthropology and the cross-cultural researcher.

> I am not concerned to denigrate the Atlas (World Ethnographic Atlas) ... But if other people's material is subject to the same treatment as my own, then there is clearly a potential source of great error, and much contemporary research stands in the balance. (Goody 1967:366)

Another formidable detractor is the French structural school, embodied in one great mind, Claude Levi-Strauss. The French school's paradigms are, broadly speaking, selective and social-scientific versions of the rationalist philosophy, while the paradigms of the Anglo-Americans are largely statements of empiricist philosophical premises. (I mean paradigms as Thomas Kuhn uses them.) The French tradition, very similar to the "emic" position, assumes the primacy of the mind, and their investigations are steeped in logically deductive terms. The Anglo-American materialist assume primacy of the behavioral act, their methods are essentially quantitative and descriptive, and their problems are phrased in diachronic-causal and empirically inductive terms. Levi-Strauss attacks the cross-cultural researcher primarily on philosophical grounds. His argument is much the same as that expressed by the

American Ethnoscientists (the emicists). They agree that cross-cultural research is irrelevant. For them the counting of cases is absurd; the existence of "concrete universals" allows for the careful analysis of only a few typical cases and does not demand the establishment of a broad inductive basis for generalization (Scholte 1970:115). In conclusion, I see the basic difference in views as centering around the issue of inductive empiricism *versus* deductive rationalism.

The criticism of cross-cultural methods now gets closer to home and, unexpectedly, our detractor is one of us. Driver is much more specific in his criticism, he is not against cross-cultural research on philosophical grounds, rather, he questions whether the hologeistic type researcher can eliminate diffusion (Galton's problem) and genetic heritage factors by choosing their samples so that the ethnic units will be from different culture areas as well as a different language family (hop-skip and jump method). Driver, then, has pointed out several more of the significant problems facing the cross-cultural researcher. Initially, we must face the Tyler-Galton problem; is the relationship functional and fortuitous or is it merely an historical-diffusional artifact? Secondly, there are problems of sampling, how do we get random-ness and as Pelto (1970) rhetorically inquires, aren't all cross-cultural statistics invalid because the samples are not strictly random (Pelto 1970:293). And, finally, Driver has pleaded for more regional comparative studies in which all, or almost all, available ethnic units are utilized (Driver 1964:296).

In review, we have discussed the views of the British school, for which the study of human behavior is overwhelmingly humanistic, descriptive, analytical, and intuitive (ideographic). Naroll (1964) questions whether or not they realize that the cross-culturalists are behavioral scientists that want, not only description, but to study the inter-relationships between variables (nomothetic) (1964:310). Secondly, Levi-Strauss, after considering "the Anglo-American trait counter," presented us with some basic philosophical arguments concerning empiricism vs rationalism. And, finally, Harold Driver brought forth some excellent queries that must be dealt with by the cross-cultural researcher.

I have presented one side of the argument and would now like to balance my effort. I must try to explain why the cross-cultural method is an important research tool. I would also like to include some views of scholars that have been influential in forming my opinions. But, before I balance the ledger I should like to list the basic problems a cross-cultural researcher encounters. There are from six to eleven "problems" depending on who you read. For this paper I shall address myself to those problems that have arisen in my discussion of the detractors. They are, (1) sampling; (2) societal unit; (3) data accuracy; (4) conceptualization, classification and coding; (5) Galton's problem; (6) general problem of statistical significance and causal analysis of correlations. Other problems that are not subsumed under one of my six categories are deviant case analysis (cf. Kobben 1967); the combing, dredging or mudsticking problem (cf. Winch and Campbell 1969:140-143); and regional variation (cf. Sawyer and Levine 1966; Driver and Scheussler 1967; and Chaney and Ruiz Revilla 1969).

The cross-cultural study (hologeistic method) is a method for generalizing about certain variables in human society and culture. It is not a regional study (cf. Driver's work) where one would get not a cross-cultural study but a culture element distribution study. The method seeks to identify (as I understand and wish to use it) traits that are universal among human beings. We can not get cultures into the laboratory as yet and must work from data gathered *in situ*. The task as I see it is to sort out the general from the particular in human cultures. We are seeking to identify functional relations between varying traits. Naroll (1970) asserts that nearly all social, political, or economic theories about human affairs assert such relationships (1970:1228). Naroll, perhaps the outstanding hologeistic researcher of today, feels that our *best* answers will come in the form of truly rigorous cross-cultural surveys which demonstrate the existence of correlations and show that these can not be plausibly explained away as artifacts of unit definition inconsistency, of sampling bias, of data reporting or coding error, or mere diffusion (Naroll 1964:310).

Another supporter who voiced an opinion, at a time when the culture idealist's vis-a-vis the Boasian historical particularists were still in control of American anthropology, was Ackerknecht. In 1954 he expressed the growing desire and need in Cultural Anthropology to find regularities and common denominators behind the apparent diversity and uniqueness of cultural phenomena (1954:125). He further stated that the comparative method was not a panacea but, he questioned, why the collection of such a myriad of data unless it was comparable? Marvin Harris, in his marvelously biased work *The Rise of Anthropological Theory*, questions whether the dissenters object to the cross-cultural method or to its mistakes. And, even though Murdockian type cross-culturalists irritate Harris (he despises physicalist models), he feels that statistical cross-cultural surveys can, indeed, must be used to supplement other modes of generating and testing hypotheses, but they *can not* be used alone or even as primary sources of nomothetic statements (1968:618).

Another advocate of the cross-cultural method is not an anthropologist but a psychologist. John W. M. Whiting (1968) is credited by any number of scholars with giving the classical defense of cross-cultural research. I disagree with his statement that most anthropologists using the method are psychological anthropologists but, then I'm not sure what a psychological anthropologist is or might be (Whiting 1968:684). His 1968 article is a revision of his pioneering defense of 1954, and, I feel he might not be cognizant of the many different disciplines using cross-cultural research. I do not wish to trace the history of the cross-cultural method but in 1954 and for many subsequent years the Human Relations Area File was mostly used by psychologists (cf. Whiting and Child 1953; Whiting and Kluckhohn 1958; Child and Veroff 1958; and B.B. Whiting 1963; as excellent examples of the Yale and Harvard Schools of cross-cultural research), as well as a few anthropologists (cf. Murdock 1949, 1957, 1959, 1964). This set of references is far from exhaustive, but it is representative. I must return to Whiting for the closing statement. I would like to quote his response to E. Evans-Pritchard (1963) who said there was little value to be gained from cross-cultural research.

> It is the purport of this chapter that the pursuit of comparative methods such as this one discussed here (cross-cultural) will yield something more than "convenient regularities" and a deeper understanding of human society and that it is *one of the* methods by which the scientific laws governing humans and their behavior can be established (italics added for emphasis). It provides one more way in which our presumptions and prejudices may be put in jeopardy. (Whiting 1968:720)

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